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***WOMEN IN POLITICS***

**"INCREASING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION  
IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION"**

EVALUATION CONDUCTED FOR THE ASIA FOUNDATION

UNDER USAID GRANT AGREEMENT  
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## I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is the conclusion of the evaluators that in return for relatively modest investments, outputs of the Women in Politics (WIP) program have been numerous and effective. Valuable lessons have been learned as a result, which will be the primary focus of this final Evaluation of the program. This positive conclusion attests to an effective and locally sensitive and specific design process, and is based on reported data, confirmed in interviews, on the numbers of participants who participated in regional and country workshops (including those outside the capital), on numbers of radio and TV shows and number of times broadcasted, on numbers of publications, guides, reports, research findings, and evidence of institutional strengthening. Detailed interviews confirmed a high quality of programs and materials.

The evaluators also concluded that the program, notably its creative combination of regional and national initiatives, has had a catalytic effect insofar as it has led to the establishment of a number of new organizations committed to fostering women's roles in politics in Asia, that would not have been established without the program, and caused a number of organizations to become substantially involved in these areas that would not otherwise have done so.

There were a few projects that did not get off the ground, were slow-moving or produced less than satisfactory results. However, these were relatively few, and there is evidence that TAF made timely adjustments where a clear-cut problem was identified.

### KEY LESSONS LEARNED

**Relevance of Design** - In addition to program designs that have responded very appropriately and flexibly to the great variety of democratic openings in the region, the narrower focus of the WIP program on local government is timely and relevant to the changing situations within the countries.

**Levels of Response** - Overall, the level of response to WIP programming was consistently high. One strong indication of a felt need for WIP programs is the extent of interest now being shown in this area by other donors.

**Regional Initiatives** - Regional workshops have been relevant and of high quality in terms of content and delivery. The connection between regional and national initiatives could be improved, thereby increasing the impact. The 'Internet idea' is not only a good one, but essential in the long run.

**Focusing on Results** - Creative, practical, inexpensive, and effective systems are feasible which would increase information about program results. TAF might consider a formula of adding 10% to projects for follow-on or follow-up activities to achieve enhanced outcomes and better information on results. A solution needs to be explored for dealing with the complexities of attribution caused by multiple-donor funding of projects.

***Women in the Bureaucracy*** - There is a strong argument that in some countries the legislature is weak and overwhelmed by the executive branch. Where appropriate therefore, more attention should be focused on including women in the bureaucracy -- improving their status, skills, strategic thinking and gender awareness -- while also providing gender awareness to the civil service.

***Thinking Strategically About Different Types of Women's Organizations*** - The WIP programs should consciously plan to work with different types of organizations to achieve different purposes and synergies, especially where it has operated for a number of years.

***TV and Radio*** - Projects need to increase the audience, the impact, and information about the impact possibly through advance promotion, greater variety of programs, better time slots, repeating programs and distribution of videos.

***From Exposure to Competence*** - As WIP programs move forward, more careful attention needs to be focused on building the sort of competence that will enable participants to act effectively.

***Building upon Existing Training Materials*** - Materials exist on advocacy, legal rights, awareness training, voter education and more. These need to be revisited for adapting to other purposes and to the changing needs of women now working in politics.

***Research Projects*** - For a variety of reasons, research activities might require more micro-management than has been considered necessary thus far.

***Institution Building/Sustainability*** - While results should be a more important priority than sustainability, it is necessary to assist organizations to reduce dependency.

***Cost-Effective Means to Increase Impact*** - When it is possible, more careful emphasis needs to be put on dramatically enhancing numbers of beneficiaries.

***New/Current/Urgent Issues for Women*** - Violence against women, broadly defined, emerged as the most important issue for women. Other concerns included stereotyping of women, poverty, limited job opportunities, lack of education and vocational skills.

***USAID Procedures*** - A number of aspects of USAID's procedures hindered the more effective programming of activities. The most significant of these was the annual contracting arrangement with no assurance of continuity of funding. This, in effect, closed down the program every twelve months. This forced short-term planning and resulted in late arrival of funds and rushed implementation.

## II INTRODUCTION

An evaluation of "Increasing Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region" Program was completed for The Asia Foundation (TAF) in February 1997. Programs in the nine participating countries were reviewed by Susan Reynolds and David Hirschmann, both external consultants. Preliminary document reviews and interviews were conducted in December, 1996, followed by field visits in January 1997 (see Appendix 1 - SOW and Itinerary). Dr. Hirschmann visited Cambodia and Indonesia and completed file reviews on programs from Mongolia and the Philippines. Ms. Reynolds visited Thailand, Bangladesh and Nepal and completed file reviews on programs from the Pacific (Fiji) and Sri Lanka. In-country interviews were conducted with USAID, where the Agency still operated, program participants, key informants knowledgeable about the political situation in country, and TAF staff. Prior to departure, the evaluation team met with USAID/ANE, USAID/Global Bureau for Democracy and USAID/WID to obtain their input for the evaluation.

The field visits to each country were brief, spending from four to six days in each country. While conducting field visits, the evaluation team also met in Thailand on January 18th to present their preliminary findings at a region-wide TAF meeting.

Selection of countries visited took into account the length of the program (i.e., at least two years), scale of the country program, variety of projects (activities) and types of organizations involved or objectives emphasized, and potential value of lessons that might be learned.

Additional information was gathered from Sri Lanka, the Pacific Islands, Mongolia and the Philippines through local consultants hired by TAF. Guidelines and a Questionnaire (see Appendix 4) were provided by the evaluation team for TAF field offices and local consultants.

The evaluation occurred at the end of a three-year sequence of one-year contracts. With the third contract ending in November 1996, several of the activities have only very recently been completed and year-end reports are only just being submitted. Therefore, while the evaluation has sought to assess achievements, its primary purpose -- as agreed upon by USAID and TAF -- is to obtain lessons learned in providing useful guidance for the direction and management of future programs related to promoting women's political participation.

This Evaluation is organized into the following sections:

The *Background* provides information about the history of the program, sets out the goal and objectives, a summary of projects, regional and country-specific, '*Results*' focuses on program outcomes based on regional and country-specific projects, '*Lessons Learned*' focuses on cross-cutting themes, with regional and country-specific examples, based on what was learned from outputs and outcomes/results of the program, and '*Recommendations*' based on outcomes/results and lessons learned, are presented along with a discussion on new, current or urgent issues for women.

### **III BACKGROUND**

The legitimacy and long-term viability of new transitional democracies in the Asia-Pacific region will ultimately be determined by their progress in building a broad base of popular participation and support among the citizens of the countries concerned. Therefore, the efforts and successes of elected governments in bringing the female half of their populations into the political arena -- to participate in, contribute to, and benefit from democratic institutions and processes -- is fundamental to establishing a legitimate, broad and sustainable base on which to build. In Asian transitions, as elsewhere, women face both formal and informal barriers to full and equal political participation at the national and local level.

As a direct response to this situation, TAF proposed and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) agreed to support a regional and country-specific program to increase women's political participation at the national, provincial and local levels, and to help build efficient national and regional networks for information sharing. The program also sought to increase women's representation in decision-making bodies, promote accessibility and influence on the policy-making process, and foster greater responsiveness to women's concerns.

#### ***Three One-Year Programs***

The program period covered three years from September 1993 through September 1996 (with a no-cost extension through November 1996). This three-year period needs to be understood as three one-year 'phases'. At the outset, the project was supported and financed for one year only with no understanding that USAID would continue. At the end of the year, the project was closed and a new project renegotiated based on a new proposal, with funding remaining uncertain until the commencement of the new year. This process was repeated at the end of the second year although this time a work plan served the purpose of a new proposal. This is relevant to the evaluation insofar as TAF and its implementing partners in the region at no time had a multi-year basis for planning, implementing and measuring progress. On the other hand, when funding became available, it was possible to continue with, and build upon, projects commenced in an earlier phase. This program, therefore, needs to be seen as something of a 'hybrid,' operationally made up of three separate annual programs, but allowing for some continuity of projects.

#### ***Funding***

In Phase I (1993-4) USAID granted \$523,791, in Phase II (1994-5) \$1,000,000 was granted, and in Phase III (1995-6) \$1,128,658 was granted. Phase I was funded by the Asia/Near East (ANE) Bureau and Women in Development (WID). Phases II and III were co-funded by ANE and the Global Bureau.

#### ***Management and Reporting***

While Phase I was negotiated by ANE, responsibility for the project was transferred to, and managed by, the newly established Global Bureau for Democracy for Phases II and III. For the first two phases, programmatic decisions were made by ANE and/or the Global Bureau. In the third phase, decisions to buy into the program were made by USAID country missions drawing on other funds designated for democracy programs.

Goals and objectives were generally defined in Phase I, refined in Phase II and then continued into Phase III, with one new initiative added

| <b>WIP Program - GOALS OBJECTIVES, INITIATIVES</b>   |                    |           |
|--|--------------------|-----------|
|  | PHASES I /<br>II** | PHASE III |
| <b>Goal</b> To fully integrate women into the political processes through three primary objectives and a fourth cross-cutting objective (Work plan p 6*)   | x                  | x         |
| <b>Objective I</b> To increase awareness strengthen advocacy and expand access to positions and processes (*)  | x                  | x         |
| <b>Objective II</b> To promote equitable laws policies and practices (*)   | x                  | x         |
| <b>Objective III</b> To strengthen capacity throughout the region to effectively implement and enforce laws policies and decisions (*)   | x                  | x         |
| <b>Objective IV</b> To promote regional networking that will facilitate transfer of ideas strategies and resources and build solidarity among women and women s groups in the region ( <i>regional cross-cutting objective</i> ) (*) | x                  | x         |
| <b>Initiatives</b> To strengthen advocacy capacity and foster cooperation across borders to address the twin problems of HIV/AIDS and trafficking of women (Phase III Program Overview p 1)  |                    | x         |
| ** Goal and Objectives remained the same from Phase I through Phase III but the terminology was not established until Phase II   |                    |           |

The following chart lists the participating countries in each year (Phase) of the project, the budget allocation and the number of projects undertaken (noted in parentheses) The countries did not remain the same each year for various reasons For example, Mongolia only began participating in WIP in Phase II as the new country program began Other countries, such as Thailand, stopped participating because it became ineligible for participation in the program because of USAID's withdrawal from the country

In Phase I, 7 countries participated, in Phase II, 8 countries, and in Phase III, 5 countries participated Regional projects were undertaken in all three years

Approximately 30 projects were undertaken in each of the three phases Expenditure on each ranged from a minimum of \$5,000 to a maximum of \$60,000, with most in the range of \$20,000 to \$30 000



| <b>WIP Program - Participating Countries/Phases (Years)<br/>and Annual Country/Regional Budget* and Number of Projects Funded**</b> |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| COUNTRY   | PHASE I<br>8/31/93 9/30/94              | PHASE II<br>10/1/94 - 9/30/95             | PHASE III<br>10/1/95 11/96                | TOTAL<br>(for 3 grants)                   |
| Bangladesh  | \$30 000 (3)                            | \$45 000 (1)                              | \$145 000 (4)                             | \$220 000 (8)                             |
| Indonesia   | \$30 000 (3)                            | \$45 000 (2)                              | \$175 000 (8)                             | \$250 000 (13)                            |
| Nepal   | \$30 000 (5)                            | \$45 000 (3)                              | \$50 000 (8)                              | \$125 000 (16)                            |
| Pacific Islands   | \$30 000 (2)                            |   |   | \$30 000 (2)                              |
| Philippines   | \$30 000 (2)                            | \$45 000 (1)                              |   | \$75 000 (3)                              |
| Sri Lanka   | \$30 000 (2)                            | \$45 000 (2)                              | \$45 000 (2)                              | \$120 000 (6)                             |
| Thailand  | \$30 000 (3)                            | \$45 000 (3)                              |   | \$75 000 (6)                              |
| Cambodia  |   | \$45 000 (1)                              | \$175 000 (7)                             | \$220 000 (8)                             |
| Mongolia  |   | \$50 000 (3)                              |   | \$50 000 (3)                              |
| REGIONAL  | \$88 298 (2)                            | \$238 000 (16)                            | \$165 618 (15)                            | \$491 916 (33)                            |
| Admin Costs etc   | -                                       | -   | -   |   |
| <b>Totals*</b>  | <b>\$523,791<br/>(granted)<br/>(22)</b> | <b>\$1,000,000<br/>(granted)<br/>(32)</b> | <b>\$1,128,658<br/>(granted)<br/>(44)</b> | <b>\$2,652,449<br/>(granted)<br/>(98)</b> |

\* These figures are for illustrative purposes only Final and complete budget figures should be obtained in the final accounting from TAF \*\* The figure (in parenthesis) for the number of projects funded includes several activities for each Phase/Year Specific information is available in Quarterly or Country-specific Reports

The projects, or activities, were spread across the three objectives, the regional cross-cutting objective and new initiatives, such as HIV/AIDS and trafficking Most were undertaken in pursuit of Objective I relating to awareness, advocacy and access Regional activities were used to accelerate projects in each country and helped to build networks that strengthen the overall efforts in the region

Projects varied considerably in response to local and regional needs The following chart is a list of projects (activities) by country and region The intention of the chart is to show the type and number of activities under objectives and to show which activities were carried through from Phase I through III in spite of the lack of certainty in on-going funding

The projects are sorted by objective and name or description of project, and the phases in which the projects were undertaken are indicated in the columns The list is taken from the work plans for each of the phases Because of some variation in terms used from one report to another and

over time, the list differs slightly from actual projects (activities) completed and detailed in quarterly and final reports

| <b>WIP Program - Projects (Activities)</b>  |                                   |                                    |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>COUNTRY -</b><br>Objective/Project Name or Description (Implementing Organization, where appropriate) and Phase(s) in which it was undertaken or continued | <b>PHASE I</b><br>8/31/93-9/30/94 | <b>PHASE II</b><br>10/1/94-9/30/95 | <b>PHASE III</b><br>10/1/95-11/96 |
| <b>Bangladesh</b>   |                                   |                                    |                                   |
| <b>Objective I</b>  |                                   |                                    |                                   |
| 1 Placing Women s Issues on the Nation s Political Agenda (Women for Women)   | x                                 |                                    |                                   |
| 2 Establishment of a permanent WIP Unit (Center for Analysis and Choice)  | x                                 | x                                  |                                   |
| 3 Voter Education on Women s Political Participation (Banchte Shekha Nagorik Uddvog and Saptagram Nari Swanivar Parishad)                                     |                                   | x                                  | x                                 |
| 4 Media Campaign profiling Successful Women (Naripokko)   |                                   |                                    | x                                 |
| 5 Strengthening and Fostering Women s Political Leadership at the Local and National Level (Centre for Analysis and Choice)                                   |                                   |                                    | x                                 |
| 6 Assess the Functional Involvement of Women Members of the Union Parishad Councils (Bangladesh Association for Rural Development)                            |                                   |                                    |                                   |
| 7 Support a Gender Watch Newsletter (Women for Women)   |                                   |                                    | x                                 |
| <b>Objective II</b>   |                                   |                                    |                                   |
| 1 Strengthening and Fostering Women s Leadership at the National and Local Levels (Center for Analysis and Choice)  | x                                 | x                                  | x                                 |
| 2 Pilot Project to Increase Awareness of Women s Issues and Recommend Policy Reform (Women for Women)   |                                   | x                                  |                                   |
| 3 Develop a women s election platform coalition for the National Election (Mahila Parishad)   |                                   |                                    | x                                 |
| 4 Advocate for change on issues of importance to grassroots women and create an advocacy campaign for a women s agenda (Naripokkho)                           |                                   |                                    | x                                 |

| WIP Program - Projects (Activities)  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| <b>Indonesia</b>   |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Establishment of Convention Watch  | x | x | x |
| 2 Development of a Monthly Television Show profiling Women Politicians (Parliament and Broadcast Media)  |   | x | x |
| 3 Preparation of UN Conference in Beijing (Nahdlatul Ulama's Forum for Islam and Women's Empowerment)  |   | x |   |
| 4 Promoting policy and decision-making for Women (Brawijaya University Research Center for Women's Studies)  |   |   | x |
| 5 Leadership development training and observation program for women parliamentarians (Regional Parliament of East Nusa Tenggara)   |   |   | x |
| <b>Objective II</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Legal Rights/Policy Reform Campaign to comply with CEDAW (Convention Watch)  |   | x |   |
| 2 Women Living Under Muslim Law (Srikandi)   |   | x |   |
| 3 Accountability of Elected Official and Opinion Leaders on Critical Gender Issues (Women for Peace)   |   |   | x |
| 4 Enable the Forum to print the publication in Indonesian, and disseminate it widely to Indonesian NGOs academics and government officials (Nahdlatul Ulama's Forum for Islam and Women's Empowerment) |   |   | x |
| 5 Broadcasts Highlighting Women in Formal Politics (Open University)   |   |   | x |
| <b>Objective III</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Monitoring implementation/compliance with CEDAW (Convention Watch)   |   | x |   |
| 2 Use the Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination Against Women for promoting women's rights (Convention Watch)  |   |   | x |
| <b>Nepal</b>   |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural NGOs (Didi Bahini - Women Empowering Women)   |   | x |   |
| 2 Advocacy and Skills Training for Urban Women Activists (Didi Bahini - Women Empowering Women)  |   | x |   |
| 3 WIP Advocacy Curricula (Didi Bahini)   |   |   | x |
| 4 Advocacy training for Rural Women (Women Acting Together for Change)   |   |   | x |
| 5 Linking women MPs with women leaders (National Assembly)   |   |   | x |
| <b>Objective II</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural Women's Groups (Rural NGOs)   | x | x |   |
| 2 Advocacy Training for Women Activists (Women's Sec Pressure Group)   | x |   |   |
| <b>Objective III</b> - 1 Exposure Tour for Women Activists (FEDO)  | x |   |   |
| <b>Pacific Islands</b>   |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Satellite Meetings (NGOs from 11 Pacific Islands nations)  | x |   |   |
| <b>Objective III</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Reg Strategic Planning Meeting (Fiji Women's Rights)   | x |   |   |

| WIP Program - Projects (Activities)  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| <b>Philippines</b>   |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Enhancing the Capacity of Advocates to Monitor Legislation and Policy Reform (Congressional Research and Training Service)   | x |   |   |
| 2 Voter Education on Women's Political Participation (Congress Watch, Makati Business Club's Voter Involvement Program)  |   | x |   |
| <b>Objective II</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Women in Politics (Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS))   | x | x |   |
| 2 Legislative advocacy on Women's Issues (SIBOL)   |   | x |   |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>   |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Promoting Women as Leaders and Raising the Visibility of Women's Issues through Increased Gender Awareness and Accountability (The Center for Women's Research (CENWOR) and Women's Bureau of Sri Lanka) | x |   |   |
| 2 Awareness-raising Workshops and Impact Assessments (CENWOR and Women's Bureau)   |   | x |   |
| 3 Monitoring Women and Women's Issues in the Media (CENWOR)  |   | x | x |
| 4 Empowerment and Advocacy for Women's Role in Democracy (Agromart Foundation)   |   | x | x |
| 5 Research and Education for Women's Roles in Formal and Informal Politics (Center for Women's Research (CENWOR))  |   | x | x |
| <b>Objective II</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Accountability of Elected Officials and Opinion Leaders on Critical Gender Issues (Women for Peace)  |   | x | x |
| <b>Thailand</b>  |   |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Documentary Video on Women in Politics (Gender Watch Group which includes 70 member organizations)   | x |   |   |
| 2 Women in Local Politics (Advance of Lanna Women Center Chiang Mai University)  |   | x |   |
| 3 Seminars for Journalists on Women's Issues (Gender Development and Research Institute)   |   | x |   |
| 4 Broadcast Programs on Women's Political Participation (Radio Producers)  |   | x |   |
| <b>Objective II</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Strengthen Local Understanding of Political Processes and Build Accountability and Monitoring Capacity (Genderwatch Group)   | x |   |   |

## WIP Program - Projects (Activities)

|   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
| <b>Cambodia</b>   |  |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>  |  |   |   |
| 1 Field Research and public forums on Women s Political Participation and Training Needs (Khemara)  |  | x |   |
| 2 Civics and advocacy training for Women s NGOs   |  | x |   |
| 3 Observation Tour of the US for women members of the National Assembly (Asian-American Exchange)   |  |   | x |
| 4 Seminar series on Women s Issues (State Secretariat for Women's Affairs)  |  |   | x |
| 5 Leadership Training for women in mid-level decision making positions (Women for Prosperity)   |  |   | x |
| 6 Television/radio program on women's issues (Women s Media Center of Cambodia)   |  |   | x |
| <b>Objective II</b>   |  |   |   |
| 1 Study tour for women MPs on Legislative Advocacy (National Assembly)  |  | x |   |
| 2 Hearings on Women s Issues  |  | x |   |
| <b>Mongolia</b>   |  |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>  |  |   |   |
| 1 Establishment and Activities (Independent Women s Research and Information Center)  |  | x |   |
| 2 Voter Education and Leadership Training Programs (Association for Women and Democracy)  |  | x |   |
| <b>Objective II</b>   |  |   |   |
| 1 Promoting Women s Legal Literacy Publication and dissemination of materials on Women s Rights under the Law (Women Lawyers Association) |  | x |   |

| <b>WIP Program - Projects (Activities)</b>  |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| <b>REGIONAL</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 First Regional Workshop and Strategic Planning Meeting  | x |   |   |
| <b>Objective I</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Two regional 'Training of Trainers' Leadership Skills Workshops (APWIP)   |   | x |   |
| 2 APWIP Awareness and Leadership Training with NGOs using APWIP Women's Leadership Curriculum (APWIP)   |   | x | x |
| <b>Objective II</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Asia Pacific and American Women in Politics Meeting on Shared Problems  |   | x |   |
| <b>Objective III</b>  |   |   |   |
| 1 Strengthen the UN Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as an effective tool across the region for achieving women's equal rights (APWIP) |   |   | x |
| <b>Objective IV - Cross-Cutting Objective</b>   |   |   |   |
| 1 Secretariat support as regional resource center and clearinghouse (APWIP)   |   | x |   |
| 2 Regional planning meeting to prepare for the 1995 UN World Conference on Women (APWIP)  |   | x | x |
| 3 National APWIP meetings to broaden the network's membership and reach (APWIP)   | x | x |   |
| 4 WIP Resource Directory and Database Support to expand capacity of existing organizations  |   | x |   |
| 5 Strengthen the Capacity of Women and Women's Organizations to address collaboratively the cross-border issue of HIV/AIDS and trafficking of women (APWIP)                     |   |   | x |
| 6 National and Regional APWIP meetings to advance and sustain momentum and actions resulting from the NGO Forum/UN Fourth World Conference on Women (APWIP)                     |   |   | x |
| 7 On-line Resource Database and Network to enable APWIP to share information in a timely and effective manner (APWIP)   |   |   | x |
| 8 Regional Internships and International Consultations to build the capacity of women's NGOs (APWIP)  |   |   | x |

## IV RESULTS

### *Data Collection and Assessment A Discussion of Results*

As will become clear, a major finding of this evaluation is that results in the sense of outputs of activities are plentiful and positive. These have been fully reported upon in the Quarterly and Final Reports.

Results in the sense of consequences going beyond outputs of activities (which will be referred to in this report as 'outcomes') are more difficult to assess. As mentioned earlier, this was a brief and restricted evaluation, with most emphasis given to lessons learned and recommendations for on-going programming. In addition, the process of collecting results by TAF and its partners is at a premature stage, some systems are in place for collecting outputs, but not yet in place for collecting impact data to determine outcomes or results and there is not a 'culture' for systematic monitoring of performance. Although this will be discussed in some detail in *lessons learned*, the newly established resource center in Nepal provides an illustration.

*TAF staff in charge of the Center indicated that it is being used, and this was verified through interviews with women who had used the Center and indicated it to be useful. However, no records could be produced indicating who visited when, how often, the purpose of their visit, what they gained from the visit or resources utilized. TAF staff later indicated that no system was in place to collect this information.*

Capturing outcomes is further complicated by the fact that this is a regional project with regional programs, a regional secretariat which has been located in Bangladesh (now moving to the Philippines), nine country programs (beginning and ending at different times), and a number of participants benefitting from regional activities from yet another group of countries (for example, Pakistan, Korea, China, Laos and Vietnam, some using non-WIP or USAID funds). Outside of the goal and objectives, there were no overall strategic objectives with measures against which to compare achievements. Outcomes of regional activities are difficult to measure beyond outputs because the outcomes take place in country. A high proportion of the projects (activities) only recently occurred and, therefore, it is unlikely that outcomes would be apparent as yet. This is also a relatively small program involving, for the most part, modest-scale projects in a vast and complex region operating, for the most part, in -- what were -- uncharted areas.

In assessing results, there is also a problem of attribution. Some of the outcomes are partly a result of TAF WIP funding and partly a result of other activities, funded out of other TAF funds, other USAID funds, other donors or the governments of the countries where these activities occurred. For example:

*In Bangladesh, TAF has supported through the WIP program a number of voter education projects, including a TOT for NGOs in a women's voter education training program. The success of the voter education program has been well documented by the Multidisciplinary Action Research Centre (MARC) and others showing a significant increase in the number of women voters, an increase in their understanding of the electoral process and what candidate's*

*platforms are and a decrease from 31.5 percent to 16.8 percent of women who 'took their own decisions,' who formerly voted on the dictates of their husbands, family members and influential people. However, the efforts through the WIP program were but one part of a National Voter Education program supported by the government. Also, TAF and USAID, along with BRAC, are partners in the Democracy Partnership project which supports similar activities and is much larger in scope. Therefore, while there is evidence that the activities under WIP made a viable contribution to the whole, it is difficult to determine the extent of its contribution.*

As far as outputs are concerned, there were a few projects -- some of them regional -- that did not get off the ground or produced less than satisfactory products -- a few research and regional projects provide examples -- some slow-moving initiatives -- where coalitions were involved, or context hindered progress such as the Mongolian Parliament moving very slowly to allow changes, or factories not allowing research as in Indonesia, or political parties opposing cooperation as in the Cambodian National Assembly, or a sense that some key actors involved in planned regional post-Beijing activities were over-committed. But, these were relatively few in number, and there is evidence that in most cases where there was a clear-cut problem, TAF staff were aware of these problems and made adaptations in a timely fashion.

There will be suggestions made as to how and why TAF needs to think of ways to make more substantial impacts, and how to deal with the systems to collect and document them. Overall, however, it is the sense of the evaluators that outputs have been numerous and effective. This positive conclusion is based on reported data confirmed in interviews on numbers of participants at regional and country workshops (including those outside the capital), number of radio and TV shows and number of broadcasts of these shows, number of publications, guides, reports and research findings, evidence of institutional strengthening, as well as detailed interviews focused on the quality of the programs and materials. As indicated, these outputs are listed systematically in each of TAF Quarterly and Final Reports to USAID.

Rather, this section of the evaluation will make some effort to discuss **a few examples from most of the participating countries** of the more important outputs and outcomes with particular attention to those that appear to have made a broader impact or appear to have the potential to do so. There will be further discussion of selected WIP projects in the section on Lessons Learned.

### ***1) Quality of Programs***

Respondents commented on a very high level of programming at both the regional and country level. Some specific improvements were suggested and these will be discussed in the course of the report. Overall, there was broad consensus that trainers, facilitators and organizing institutions were all effective and responsive, and focus, materials and content, as also the methods of delivery of materials, were of high quality. As TAF and USAID look to strengthening the impact of the program, it needs to be noted that there is in place a sound basis on which to build.

### ***2) Levels of Response***

Overall the level of response, that is the actions taken in consequence of TAF WIP programs by participants, was consistently high. There were exceptions, some in the area of research.



undertakings (which will be discussed below), and in a few cases, TAF itself felt that grantees were moving too slowly. For example, when coalitions of women's organizations were involved. While it was not possible to carry out a comparative analysis with other programs, the evaluators have a strong sense that in return for fairly modest amounts of money, TAF and USAID are getting a very good return. Most of the projects are relatively small, and many are new, but there are clear indications that as a result of the program, Asian women have produced a substantial number of TV and radio shows, undertaken a good number of relevant and good quality training exercises at the regional, country and local level, and become involved in new areas of public decision making, including elections and advocacy.

One strong indication of the quality of programming, the level of response, and the appropriateness of, and need felt for, working with women specifically in the area of politics, is the extent of interest now being shown in this area by other donors.

### ***3) Influence on TAF and USAID Programs***

Although an evaluation does not usually focus inward on the impact of a program on the sponsoring organizations, there is evidence that the initiation and management of WIP, and even more so the early positive results observed, have contributed to strengthening and clarifying the focus on women in politics in both USAID's operations in Asia as well as inside TAF itself -- at both headquarters and in the field. Examples of this impact include the reorganization of TAF so as to incorporate women in politics as a major new area of emphasis, and the inclusion of women in politics related objectives at a high level of USAID mission strategies.

### ***4) Institution Building***

There is evidence of the positive effect of the WIP program on institution building in the region, both the creation of new organizations such as FijiWip, and the change of direction of others such as CAC in Bangladesh and CLD in the Philippines that previously had no programmatic focus on women in politics. These organizations have now moved in a more serious direction and, with encouragement from the WIP program, have extended their reach to grassroots levels outside the capital with organizations such as DAWN in the Philippines and with BRAC and Banchte Sheka in Bangladesh.

### ***5) Regional Initiatives***

Participants who were interviewed agreed that the regional workshops that they had attended had been of high quality in terms of both content and delivery. They gave clear evidence of still being familiar with the materials that were covered, and giving examples demonstrating effective training techniques, and explaining the relevance of most of the content.

The program sponsored between 6 and 9 regional activities a year over the 3-year period. Most of the activities addressed Objective IV, promoting networking to facilitate transferring of ideas, strategies and resources that build solidarity among women and women's groups in the region. Some activities helped establish the Asia Pacific Women in Politics Network (APWIP). An important achievement in this regard is the establishment of a functioning APWIP Secretariat, which has played a helpful role in bringing together women who work on issues of women's

political awareness and participation, has facilitated preparation for significant international panels at Beijing and the Association of Women In Development (AWID) Conference in Washington, DC has planned regional workshops and training activities for all participating countries, and helped NGOs in specific countries such as the Liberal Women's Brain Pool (LEOS) and the Women's Law Association in Mongolia, and with institutional development in Fiji, and commenced building an Internet network to provide information and exchange for APWIP members

Most of the regional activities have focused on workshops intended to exchange models, strategies, and experiences, transfer ideas, raise consciousness and awareness, raise analytical, training and advocacy skills, and develop relevant curricula for further training. Early examples included a week-long strategic planning meeting in Manila for 17 women from 15 countries and a regional workshop 'Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda' in Bangkok attended by 40 women from 23 countries. More recently, there have been workshops on CEDAW in Jakarta attended by 49 participants from 13 countries (plus 25 Indonesian observers) and one on HIV/AIDs and Trafficking in Nepal.

The HIV/AIDs/Trafficking Workshop in Nepal was the result of an initiative added in Phase III and was a smaller part of the WIP program. However, it offers an example of a regional initiative that translated into a very effective outcome and is used here to illustrate that point.

*The Nepali participants indicated that having the regional workshop in Nepal highlighted the "trafficking" issue and attracted the attention of MPs who had not previously shown any interest. Following the workshop, there also was a change in the press coverage which began to write about women as 'victims' of trafficking. Attention was also drawn to the need for increasing cooperation over borders since most of trafficking of Nepali girls and women is to India.*

*One participant from Bangladesh who runs a small NGO near a 'trafficking' point in Bangladesh indicated that for her the greatest value of workshop was a greater understanding of the complexity of the issues and how important it was for local officials and policymakers to gain an understanding about issues of trafficking and HIV/AIDS. Upon her return to Bangladesh, TAF supported a workshop she organized for local officials. The outcome of that workshop was that for the first time when arrests were made for trafficking, the accused men were held in jail and the women were released after a few hours because it was recognized that they were 'victims' in the act and not willing participants. Because the NGO leader recognizes the need for and the importance of additional training for local leaders, including police officials, she is organizing another workshop and obtaining funding from donors other than TAF.*

A number of women's organizations in non-USAID countries benefitted from these programs, although their attendance may have been paid for from different funds. These included Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Japan, Thailand, India and the Pacific Islands. Indian women were not only invited, but they also served as a resource to WIP supported women's organizations in other countries of the region. Vietnamese participation in regional workshops has led to impressive in-country training of women in politics, and women's representation has increased on local councils from 12

to 20%

Participants were questioned on the quality of regional programs they had attended and how they had used, or intended to use, the materials. Overwhelmingly, they were enthusiastic about the relevance and quality of the materials and usefulness of the whole experience. Some participants, from several countries, were, however, of the opinion that there could be more effective planning and follow up in order to enhance the impact. Also, some of TAF field-office staff indicated that they experienced short lead-time in participating in the regional activities, knowing about the activities and being able to identify the most appropriate people to attend. (These points will be discussed further in Lessons Learned.) From the regional activities, including the newsletter, respondents indicated that 'networking' and information exchange were the greatest benefit.

Arranging inter-regional study tours has been another innovation of the WIP program that has proved particularly helpful in transferring relevant experiences and techniques. *For example, four women from Cambodia joined women from Bangladesh on a short study tour of Thailand. Only one participant, from Cambodia, was interviewed. She reported that the tour had been very important and immediately relevant to her and the other Cambodians. It fitted with the work in which they were involved and with their planned activities: encouraging women's participation in different aspects of the upcoming commune (local government) elections, training of (what they anticipated to be a few) newly elected women members of communes, and episodes for a TV series on women in public affairs. The women had returned very recently and so there was no way of telling whether this will happen, but all concerned had good track records and clear plans.*

Early on in APWIP's formation, the core group identified the need for a curriculum for advocacy and creating political awareness. Following 2 years of development workshops and field testing, the curriculum was completed for "Increasing Women's Political Awareness and Consciousness." This was the first of its type and recognized as such within the region, as confirmed in interviews.

To institutionalize this curriculum, a Training of Trainers Workshop was conducted in the Philippines in 1996. The APWIP member organizations, as well as several other country organizations, are using and/or adapting the materials to their country-specific, or organization-specific, situations. In Nepal, parts of the curriculum have been integrated into their 'legal literacy program' and in Bangladesh, portions of the curriculum have been integrated into voter education curricula. Women in Bangladesh mentioned that the workshops, using this curricula, for the first time helped them to understand how to think about candidate's political speeches and how to ask questions to 'hold the candidates' accountable for their promises.

Through the Secretariat, APWIP initiated and published a regular newsletter distributed to approximately 1,200 individuals or organizations in 28 countries. There were 3 to 4 issues published each year in which the activities of member organizations, or individual members, were highlighted and information was exchanged about APWIP activities. Several suggestions were made on how to improve the newsletter, which will be discussed in Lessons Learned.

*The Center for Analysis and Choice (CAC), in Bangladesh, in its role as Secretariat, published the APWIP Newsletter, but also incorporated and further shared APWIP information in its own "CAC News" which was published in Bengali and distributed in Bangladesh*

*APWIP Newsletter information was also utilized by the WIP Resource Center, in Nepal, which publishes a newsletter in English and distributed to NGOs and donor organizations in Kathmandu. The next newsletter is expected to be translated into Nepali, which will increase its readership. For networking purposes, contact information for APWIP Board Members has been included and in one issue, organizations working with women and women's issues in Nepal were identified. This information, via the Newsletter was shared with APWIP members in Thailand and the Philippines. As a result, Saathi (in Nepal), an organization working for nonviolence against women, has been invited to the Philippines to share its expertise*

*Through the APWIP network several very capable individuals have been identified, and become better known within the region, have made contributions not only to their own organizations, but to countries/organizations within the network, for example, Dr. Socorro Reyes from the Philippines, Dr. Suteera Thomson from Thailand and Ms. Angela Gomes from Bangladesh*

*Dr. Reyes, from the Center for Legislative Development in Manila, and a founding board member of APWIP, was invited to Nepal to conduct a workshop on Advocacy Skill and Strategies for the Advancement of the Women's Cause. Several of the NGOs attending the workshop were working on the Inheritance/Property Rights issues and getting it 'tabled' in the legislature. One of the organizations, a new NGO made up entirely of women from the 'untouchable' caste (FEDO), organized a rally and helped in organizing and conducting a march just before the legislation was to be reviewed. The march served to bring further public attention to the issue, and also gave the organizations some experience in ways to raise public awareness on a particular issue and advocate for change. Dr. Reyes has also served as a resource person on several other occasions or represented APWIP such as at the UN Commission on the Status of Women*

*Dr. Thomson, from the Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) in Bangkok has been an APWIP core group member and very active since 1994. She has for example, worked with APWIP in the collection of Gender Sensitive Information, in part because of her affiliation with GDRI and her extensive publications on gender and gender related issues. One of her publications was based on a paper, "Women in Decision-making Positions: Politics and Administration" presented for the ESCAP Expert Group Meeting of LDCs on the Implementation of the Jakarta Declaration for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific. She also facilitated sessions at workshops such as the Jakarta workshop on "Gender Equality in Asia and Pacific: A Call to Action."*

*Ms. Gomes, Director of Banchte Shekha in Jessore, served as a core resource person for several regional activities and has shared her expertise in popular and non-formal education methodologies including her drama skills, song writing capabilities and her artistic and conceptualization work in poster development and publication. She also hosted NGO staff from*

*Nepal who were interested in providing assistance to women who need mediation services for domestic violence disputes*

#### **6) Bangladesh**

For the three years in which TAF/Bangladesh participated in the WIP program, most of their activities focused on increasing awareness, strengthening advocacy and expanding access to positions and processes. Their projects centered around strengthening women's political leadership at local and national levels and voter education. Previously mentioned were examples of success in the voter education area, where there has been a marked increase in the number of women voters, and the percentage who have indicated that they voted according to their own decision rather than that of their husbands or male members of the family.

The majority of the NGOs interviewed indicated that their organization has been strengthened by participation in the WIP program either by increasing their visibility, training capacity and curricula available, their impact on their 'beneficiaries,' or strengthening their position and capabilities in requesting other donor funding. Banchte Shekha, for example, will be supported in activities under the USAID/TAF/BRAC Democracy Partnership program. The Center for Analysis and Choice benefited in a variety of ways. Prior to participation in the WIP program, they primarily focused on legislative analysis and worked with a more elite group of people. Through their experience gained in WIP, and APWIP, they expanded their focus and thinking to include women's political participation from national through local level government, and began working much more with grassroots groups such as BRAC and Banchte Shekha.

Several of the NGOs indicated that working with TAF offered the smaller organizations access to smaller grants which they could utilize more effectively rather than larger grants which they often could not get access to nor had the capacity to absorb.

TAF Bangladesh indicated that participation in the WIP program further institutionalized its own focus on gender. In the past, it had been working on voter education and increasing political participation, but less focus had been paid to gender.

#### **7) Cambodia**

Cambodia is in a very brief and uncertain stage of relative peace and democracy. As in Mongolia, there were few donors interested in women in politics programs at the outset, but interest is growing. TAF funded NGOs have been responsible for some very effective leadership training programs that have led to more women running for the local elections and better organized women's activities in Government Ministries, a selection of radio and TV and video recorded programs which informal surveys indicate are being watched/listened to by high percentage of rural people, and preparation for voter and civic education and more workshops to encourage women's participation in the next round of elections, and then to train those elected (these last two training initiatives will rely on material from regional workshops).

Two examples of WIP activities in Cambodia include women's leadership training (also using a curriculum developed at a regional workshop), and public education through the media. One

hundred eight people from 16 provinces were trained in the leadership courses. In an evaluation, the training was rated highly by participants. At least 6 further training sessions have been undertaken by trainees. As a result, there has been full participation by government women at meetings organized by the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Also, 9 radio and TV programs have been broadcast, leading to requests for copies of the videos. As mentioned, a few organizations are preparing to assist women to participate in the upcoming elections.

A number of Cambodian women's NGOs are now in a better position to apply for, and are attracting funding, from other donors.

#### **8) Indonesia**

In all of these countries, it is challenging enough for a small program such as WIP on its own to make a measurable impact. The size and complexity of Indonesia, as well as the very limited nature of democratic processes, makes the challenge even more difficult. Given the weakness of the legislature, a number of women here make the argument that the executive branch is a more promising target of their attention.

A number of WIP-funded initiatives, such as six TV productions at the Open University, research and training on women in politics by Brawijaya University, and a training program for women elected to one of the provincial councils of a very poor province, have made positive headway in terms of outputs, but the outcomes will not become evident for another year or two. Other projects with strategic potential that are well underway are the development of a curriculum to train all public servants in gender awareness at the Institute of Public Administration, and one for the Islamic Institute (both of these are government sponsored universities). There has already been short-term training of faculty and students.

The longest established WIP-supported program (which is now under USAID Democracy and Governance funding, although still through TAF) is the Convention Watch set up to inform the public and women about CEDAW and to bring government attention to discrepancies between practice and the requirements of the Declaration to which the Indonesian Government is signatory. The Convention Watch has chosen to focus on women in the workplace, and to do so by means of research to be used as the basis of advocacy, public education during popular radio programs, and training workshops for NGOs and lawyers. The coalition has already carried out a variety of public education activities. While it has moved slowly to this point -- partly a result of being a coalition of women leaders all of whom have other responsibilities -- Convention Watch has pre-positioned itself to make an effective impact in two other ways. First, on those in the executive branch who make policy on women in the labor force, and, second, in training of lawyers at law schools. It will take another year, however, to determine if this organization can achieve these potentially significant outcomes.

#### **9) Mongolia**

The TAF Democracy program in Mongolia started from scratch and was not designed as a women's program. Because of the very positive response from women's organizations, it became very much a women-implemented program. The combination of TAF Democracy and WIP

programs demonstrated positive outcomes through its contribution to the Parliamentary election of 1996, which was of better quality than previous elections and in which voters were better informed. Also some women were elected who almost certainly would not have been without the work of WIP supported NGOs, and they have gone on to form a women's caucus. The activities conducted through WIP contributed to the necessary preconditions for the election of these women -- for example, by creating a pool of women willing and capable of campaigning for election, experience with lobbying and the operations of Parliament and the legislative process, and with organization and leadership experience. In addition, there was regional support for strengthening women's legal and political NGOs in Mongolia, to which participating organizations have responded very positively. Therefore, WIP's constructive role here was as part of a larger TAF (and other donor) supported program assisting women's organizations.

The two main beneficiaries of WIP funding were the Women's Lawyers' Association (WLA) and Women for Social Progress (WSP). WLA produced and distributed 4,000 copies of a manual on women's legal rights -- the first one of its kind -- and organized two roundtables to draw support for a law on violence against women. One result has been the creation of the country's first women's crisis shelter and increased calls for help. A second less technically worded version of the manual is being prepared.

WSP used an analysis of previous elections to prepare a strategy for the 1996 election. Among its many activities, it produced and distributed 2,000 copies of a 'Government Owner's' manual, 200 copies of voter education reports, 500 copies of 'Citizen Guides to Government' printed and distributed 6,500 information fliers providing information on elections, candidates and parties. It organized voter education seminars for 11,000 people in aimag capitals, and 500 people in the capital, and successfully pressed some MPs to meet with the public and openly announce their policies on a variety of topics of concern to voters. Not only did this increase information available on candidates, parties and issues, but it helped many Mongolians for the first time to see the elections process as one in which the parties and the government needed them and were there to serve them (and not the other way around), and as involving a meaningful competition.

### *10) Nepal*

Nepal has participated in the WIP program for 3 years. Prior to the WIP program, no other donors were funding in this area. TAF's participation in the WIP program has led to developing a substantial strategic plan that now has "women's empowerment" as its only goal for Nepal. This very much complements and has influenced USAID's strategic objective of 'women's empowerment' and gender issues.

Participation in the WIP program also has led to TAF's legal rights training program, which is currently being implemented under its Women's Empowerment Theme. The legal rights training has incorporated the advocacy training originally developed by Didi Bahini under WIP and which was later picked up by APWIP and further refined into curriculum that could be used as a reference throughout the region.

TAF has been using its core money to support WIP activities in addition to obtaining additional

funds from USAID or using the core funds to complement USAID's funding, such as on the Inheritance/Property Rights Bill. In order to advance this process, the following activities were supported through a variety of local organizations: legal experts drafted the property rights bill, then a number of discussion programs were held with political and party leaders and parliamentarians, a three-day training program for fifteen NGOs was organized on Legislative Advocacy for Women's Property Rights (facilitated by Dr. Reyes from the Philippines), a street drama to generate public awareness regarding women's rights to property was performed on five occasions, leaflets were distributed, interaction programs were conducted with 80 school teachers, 1,000 students from 8 schools and about 1,000 campus students from Kathmandu Valley, a 9-member action committee and a 'lobby' group of 8 legal practitioners were formed, and demonstrations and rural awareness activities were organized. The bill was not tabled this session (1996), but has received so much publicity that the momentum remains to resume advocating for the next session.

Even with this amount of positive activity, NGO development in Nepal is still fairly new, not well developed and does not appear to be approaching even a modest level of institutional or financial sustainability.

From the regional HIV/AIDS and Trafficking Dialogue held in Nepal, the most important outcomes were in the follow-on information meetings at which MPs participated for the first time, and much wider and better informed press coverage (as previously mentioned). This has led to a more open dialogue about dealing with border issues with India, and to a lobbying effort of setting aside a 'women's cell' in the police station so that the women arrested are not 'violated' twice.

### ***11) Pacific Islands***

The Pacific Islands region participated only in the first year of the WIP program. In that year, a Regional Roundtable on WIP (assisted by an APWIP resource person) for 11 island nations was held in Fiji. Twenty participants attended, including Members of Parliament, aspiring politicians, and NGO staff from Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa. The roundtable was a catalyst that stimulated important initiatives in individual island countries to increase women's voice in the political process and helped to link women within the Pacific Region.

In Fiji, a Women's Affairs Center was established following participation of Fijian women leaders in regional and sub-regional meetings which highlighted models in other countries and examined the role of the media in advancing women's issues. The Center is effectively using the media to highlight issues of concern to Fijian women and decision-makers on their policy decisions.

### ***12) Philippines***

In the Philippines, the results of two years of projects were impressive. Interestingly, USAID -- after the change in procedures -- decided not to buy-in to the WIP program, and it stopped. In this case, one has a situation in which relatively well organized, motivated and experienced NGOs have been effective in organizing, monitoring and operating in a systematic way and at a sophisticated level. For example, not only have they encouraged and helped women to get elected



to legislative bodies, but they have provided information to these women to help them take up women's issues, researched the difference these women made, and held panels to discuss these issues. Here, the specific contribution of TAF's WIP funds must be considered to be very effective and well focused, but with modest contribution to a broader process undertaken by strong organizations using local and donor resources.

For example, the Congressional Research and Training Service, renamed the Center for Legislative Development, in cooperation with national organizations such as DAWN (Development through Active Networking Foundation) and ORD (Organization for Rural Development) and local organizations has pursued a series of activities related to legislative bodies and legislation. These included systematic monitoring of large numbers of bills and encouraging bills related to women's concerns, and provided information for media coverage and advocacy of such bills. They have organized issues on key bills such as the rape bill and the women's empowerment bill, which proposed to establish quotas for increasing women's representation in policy making positions.

These WIP supported NGOs have succeeded in getting a large number of women to participate in a variety of roles in the electoral process, an increased number of women to run for national and local elections, and then immediately provided legislative training and manuals for those elected, and also advocacy training seminars for local level NGOs. Included in campaign training was encouragement to women candidates to take advantage of the public perception that they are less greedy and corrupt than men. They have carried out programs and helped strengthen women's organizations including local advocacy organizations in the provinces. Some aspects of the work of these Philippine organizations have been seen as so effective that they have provided models which have been used regionally.

### ***13) Sri Lanka***

Sri Lanka has participated for 3 years of the WIP program. One of TAF's main partners, The Agromart Foundation, has completed training programs on advocacy and political empowerment. Follow-up activities entailed the formation of advocacy committees that have used their new skills to lobby local government officials for change and development in their communities. The committees have successfully lobbied for and tapped into local government funds for village development projects, including road construction, reservoir rehabilitation, and school construction.

Agromart staff have also been informed of significant changes in project areas. For example, men are no longer the dominant force in village planning committees. Women are more able to express their opinions and be heard. A number of women's groups have been formed in the project areas and have conducted public affairs campaigns against the high cost of living as well as the poor quality of village infrastructure and transport facilities. There is now an increased ability on the part of women to create development plans and budgets which has resulted in improvements to village infrastructure, road construction, and the adoption of village credit schemes for women.

Agromart launched *Dinithi*, Sri Lanka's first newspaper devoted to women's participation in the nation's political and economic life. Circulation is now at 7,500 copies per issue and Agromart recovers about 70 percent of its costs through subscriptions. *Dinithi* includes a page on women and the law and a section called "Voice of the Village" which highlights rural women's concerns about the political process.

TAF provided a grant to Women for Peace (WFP) to launch a media monitoring project and campaign to eliminate poor or sexist reporting on women's issues. In spite of continuing civil unrest, WFP was able to step up activities in the war-torn eastern province. WFP has established solid links with other women's groups from the east and is now able to report on a variety of issues affecting women, including the impact of the war on women, in this portion of the country. WFP's institutional growth has been impressive, and prospects for sustainability are favorable. WFP has expanded its funding sources to include CIDA, Oxfam, and the Australian government.

Based on studies conducted by the Center for Women's Research in Phase II, CENWOR has devised a curriculum and carried out training in advocacy and lobbying for urban and rural women from the Sinhala and Tamil ethnic groups. WIP supported four such workshops, two of which were for women of low-income backgrounds and the others were for women from trade unions and political parties. The training materials are now being adapted for more diverse audiences, and there is increased demand at CENWOR for these kinds of activities.

#### **14) Thailand**

Because of the recent closure of USAID, Thailand participated only in the first two years of the WIP program. Respondents indicated that TAF is recognized for initiating and promoting women in politics programming in Thailand.

In spite of not participating in the USAID supported WIP program, TAF has continued working within WIP areas. For example, one woman MP related how a WIP-sponsored training initiative, which she had facilitated, led directly to the election of an additional female MP currently in office. This same MP was also working with TAF, other women leaders, including other MPs, in drafting a proposal for the new Constitution. This is a major undertaking and is the first time that a group of women leaders are taking such an active role in this type of an activity. The group felt that being able to identify who should participate in the group and in being able to organize them quickly was, in part, a result of the activities sponsored through the WIP program which led to creating a greater network of women leaders.

Another activity completed under the WIP program was a video, entitled "Power in Women." Five hundred copies are now being produced by the National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCAA) to be used in the Tambon (local) Training which will be conducted by the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Interior nation-wide.

Carefully focused training activities were carried out under WIP. Overall, in Thailand, more than 1,000 women received political training in five northern provinces, of the 289 women who ran, two-thirds received training and 109 were elected, the number of women holding local office in

these provinces increased from an average of 1% before the elections to 14% after the elections

The Center of Education for the Advancement of Lana Women in Chiang Mai conducted several of the workshops under WIP. This increased their capacity to develop and deliver further workshops, which they continued to do throughout 1996. As a result of the increased capability and follow-on workshops, a number of women participants decided to run for the first time in TAO (local) elections. Ultimately, 40 women, out of 99 total women who attended the workshops, ran for office and were elected.

A group of women who were interviewed on the effects of the elections made a very convincing argument that these women were making a difference. They referred to the very different perceptions, from elected male representatives, about HIV/AIDS and trafficking that these women were bringing to legislative deliberations. The argument further continued that these elected women linked social problems and economic outcomes by bringing income generating projects for women into the local communities.

## V LESSONS LEARNED

### 1) *Local Level Focus*

In addition to program designs that have responded very appropriately and flexibly to the great variety of democratic openings in the region, the narrower focus of the WIP program on local government is timely and relevant to changing situations within the countries. Governments are decentralizing and for the first time, some decision-making authority and financial resources are available at the local level. Since women are most likely to increase their participation at the local level by voting, running for office or some community-level activity, this opens up a greater opportunity for increasing women's participation, gaining some experience, and having some influence over development at the local level.

### 2) *Regional Initiatives*

Participants who were interviewed agreed that the regional workshops that they had attended had been of high quality in terms of both content and delivery. There was a feeling among some of the participants that the connection between regional and national initiatives could be more clearly planned and, therefore, have more long-lasting impact. In order to achieve this -- and a change in USAID procedures would facilitate this -- more preparation time is needed. This could be used in the first place to plan recruitment since recruitment is key to post-workshop follow-up and spread of information and techniques. Key aspects to keep in mind were the training and organizational capacity of the individuals, and their commitment to staying with their own institutions. Very competent women, who leave their organization soon after returning from a workshop, tend to have very limited impact.

There was also a need for more time to prepare materials since some of the workshops rely, at least to some extent, on the use of country examples, research and experiences. The quality could be improved with more notice.

While in most cases regional and national initiatives were seen as mutually supportive, some of those interviewed suggested that TAF needed to ensure that there was at all times a clear connection between regional initiatives and on-going national programs of TAF funded organizations.

Requests were made for more 'continuity' by way of post-workshop support. This could be in the form of materials, a visit by a resource person, requirements to report on progress and then feedback on those reports. A positive example was mentioned in which those recruited agreed in advance to translate the materials into the national language and deliver the training locally and report back within a given time. This is feasible -- *we spoke to a representative of an organization in Indonesia who had fulfilled all the requirements in time*. It might be worth requiring 'adaptation to local circumstances' in addition to translation into the local language.

A related issue that emerged in discussing how to make post-workshop programs more effective concerned funding of follow-on activities. *Following the Trafficking HIV/AIDS Regional workshop in Nepal, a Bangladeshi NGO - supported by TAF - conducted a 'dialogue to*

*increase awareness and sensitivity of local officials* In this case, although the organization is quite small, it had staff capable of organizing a follow-on event, of understanding how to apply lessons learned and use that information to move ahead and seek additional outside monies in moving forward on the issue and in increasing its effectiveness as an organization. In another country context for example Nepal, where NGOs are much weaker and donor funds are more scarce, it may take more funded follow-on workshops or activities in order to strengthen the NGO sufficiently to be able to convey to nationals the training and experiences of the regional workshop.

While there may be no clear single lesson on this, experience has shown that regional activities require some new sensitivities. For example, there are a number of levels involved including TAF Washington, TAF country office, APWIP a WIP resource person and the local in-country hosting organization. More care with clarification of (or principles for) division of responsibilities may now be more important than was previously thought to be the case. In addition, in organizing these undertakings -- their emphasis, focus, examples etc -- there needs to be sensitivity to the specific and very diverse contexts of the countries, the different stages and natures of their democratic institutions and their civil societies, and the various categories of women with which they work. For example, educated/uneducated, urban/rural, elite/grassroots etc. On-going care needs to be taken to prevent any divisions (even if only in perceptions) between insiders and outsiders.

Two other issues mentioned were language and cultural differences. English is much more prevalent in some countries and, therefore, some participants are more comfortable and conversant in English, while others struggle. Some of those less conversant in English also indicated that they were often reluctant to speak up in a group or were 'overrun' by those with better English skills. Another dynamic that emerged was regional 'cultural' differences, specifically between 'South' and 'South East' Asian women.

With regard to the role of the regional organization, APWIP, there was the feeling among the few people who talked about this, that its role and contribution could be made more clear and effective. This is a very challenging task for a new organization commencing operations in such a large and varied region of the world.

The APWIP Newsletter, commented upon in several countries, was seen as a good idea particularly insofar as it provided moral support, but it could be made more useful by including more attention to 'issue' oriented articles, research findings on women in politics, and how to contact people who had carried out the research. It was also suggested that members/readers be invited to provide research findings as contributions for the newsletter. However, those producing the newsletter indicated that they continually struggled in getting other APWIP countries to contribute articles and notices.

Some respondents suggested that more emphasis should be given to sharing curricula materials used successfully in various kinds of gender training and women in politics courses. In another case, one country indicated they did not usually read the newsletter because it was mostly APWIP

events/activities in which they had not participated and that, perhaps, if there were special interest articles, that would increase the readership

The Internet idea was seen as not only good, but in the long run essential. For the moment, however, there are limitations on its effectiveness. One was caused by lack of confidence among some potential users in their ability to write English. Some lacked access because the institutions to which they were connected, such as universities, were not willing to pay for access. In other cases, for example, some participants from NGOs were not affiliated with universities and had no access at all. In Nepal, there were issues of not even being able to get 'international' lines even if they could afford the Internet services. Reports indicate that TAF has already attempted to deal with these obstacles. It would appear from these comments that this type of assistance should continue.

### ***3) Focusing On Results***

This is a difficult and complex issue. However, it is an important one, not only to assist TAF and its partners tell their story more effectively, but also for purposes of management information, helping refine selection criteria relating to both organizations to fund and approaches and techniques to support, and, of most significance, to enhancing the impact of the program.

Some of TAF's partners think about this, a few try to collect results (going beyond outputs) although most do not, and few dislike the concept and the accompanying pressure to measure. Having spoken at length about this with a good number of grantees, it is our conclusion that not only is enhanced collection of results feasible, but it will be helpful to strengthening TAF partners' management and strategic planning, and above all, in the medium term, enhance their impact.

*In Indonesia for example, in discussing a rather effective and well conceived grassroots training exercise in voter civic education in rural areas, it emerged because of a discussion of results that the project was aimed at 240 people agreement that this was far too modest a result, and plans for a next step to use the model for replication in order to substantively bolster the impact. When one stresses results rather than outputs, people see the point of showing TV films more than once, on more than one station, and distributing them as videos.*

The following points are based to some extent on what some of the NGOs already do, and to some extent on what they said they were willing to do and saw as feasible, given limited personnel capacity, expertise and experience with results, resources and logistics.

For the most part, these NGOs cannot be of much help in providing data on national level impacts, but short and medium-term outcomes are possible. Creative practical, inexpensive, and sometimes only partially satisfactory rather than perfect systems are feasible. It is possible to include in an invitation to participate in a training of trainers workshop a requirement of the trainees not only that they go home and provide training, but that they also inform the training organization of that training. Even if only half respond, NGOs and TAF will have a far better idea than before of a further level of concrete results of the TOT.

*Another example is from groups in Indonesia and Cambodia that have produced TV films and turned them into videos available to NGOs. They said that since they were giving the videos away for training for free, that it would be easy to require receiving organizations to complete a form on the use of the video. In Indonesia it was thought that the TV station itself might be collecting figures on numbers of people watching programs and the NGO could get the figures without further cost. In still another case, also in Indonesia, it was calculated that it would cost about \$3,000 to do a 1,000 person survey to test the readership of a newspaper supplement.*

In several countries, including Cambodia, it was pointed out that it would be unrealistic to depend on the mail, but the point was made that a follow-up workshop (a year later) could be very effective in producing results. A workshop, such as this, could also provide incentives for participants to achieve such results and provide feedback on the original training. In doing this type of follow-on activity, guidelines can be built into the original training activity so that the participants/ trainees have something to direct their year in implementing their activities and collecting results.

It was 'guesstimated' that bringing women from the provinces for a follow-on workshop could add \$5,000 to an amount of \$50,000 spent on the original undertaking. These examples suggest that TAF might think about a formula of adding 10% to projects in order to achieve these enhanced outcomes and better information on results.

This concern with results fits too with a focus on people-level impacts. Many WIP programs have to work with economically better-off, more educated women, and so end up financially supporting them and their organizations. It is important that a clear vision be maintained on why this is being done and who the ultimate beneficiaries are intended to be, and success be measured on the basis of the number of such women who do benefit. In some countries, TAF is making an effort at identifying and working with organizations that are operated by women from more of a grassroots or less economically better-off situation. *In Bangladesh, Banchte Shekta is one example. Many of the staff within the organization are people who benefitted from its program. Part of the Director's philosophy is to bring people into the organization who have the experience of those they serve. While in the organization, they gain skills to advance themselves. In Nepal, TAF has been providing institutional support and support for participation in the WIP program to an organization called FEDO (The Feminist Dalit Organization), which is entirely made up of women from the untouchable caste. These are effective people-level outcomes that need to be measured.*

A different kind of challenge relates to attribution. Projects are ongoing processes which seek funding from whomever might be willing to help, i.e., they do not necessarily begin or end or depend solely on one donor. So, in some cases, a project might be initiated by the WIP program, but in others it might pick up a project from another donor, it might partner with another donor, and more commonly, it might hand off the project to another donor. *For example, a couple of WIP projects are being taken over by USAID in Indonesia, and a project is being shared in Cambodia with the Netherlands. In Indonesia, women's organizations are forming partnerships to undertake activities and they each depend on different donors. This is also the case for the*

*assistance that TAF is providing in Nepal for trafficking and HIV/AIDS, there are other donors involved*

In these situations, TAF and USAID want to take as much credit as is due to their efforts. They do not want to take undue credit, but equally they do not want forego credit for programs to which they have contributed. For example, if WIP money is going to support institution building or core funding and another donor supports a specific activity, how much credit should WIP take for the activity? If a participant at a WIP regional workshop returns and makes use of the curriculum a year or two later for a training activity funded by another donor, WIP should take credit. We need some short-hand terms for this such as 'full responsibility,' a 'major contribution,' or a 'minor contribution.' This is of importance since much can be missed if TAF does not have a way of monitoring and assessing these kinds of results.

#### ***4) Women in the Bureaucracy***

There is a strong argument, made most commonly by women in Indonesia, but it had obvious relevance to Cambodia and other Asian countries as well, that the legislature is weak and overwhelmed by the executive branch. Not only is the legislative branch ineffective, but the few women who make it into such bodies often are or feel powerless because they are so much in the minority or because they are controlled by the party leadership. They are unable to effectively present their views and represent women's interests. Most policies are initiated, and all policies are interpreted and implemented by the executive branch. Therefore, they argue that putting so much attention on women in the legislature is an error. This would refer to both women members of Parliaments and to NGOs that focus on influencing the legislative branch.

TAF should therefore consider giving more attention, where it is appropriate, to women in the bureaucracy - improving their status, skills, strategic thinking and gender awareness as also providing gender awareness to the civil service. Some Indonesian women's organizations have a very clear focus on trying to influence and train the bureaucracy, and in Cambodia it was acknowledged that legal advice on women would be most strategically located in a Ministry than in the legislature. One person who agreed with this, nevertheless argued for continuing support for legislature because the women MPs needed it and because we need to look toward the future when elected bodies become more influential. Indeed, the situation is different in each country and this issue needs to be applied on a country by country basis.

#### ***5) Thinking Strategically About Different Types of Women's Organizations***

Without overtly articulating a strategy, the WIP program appears to make use of different categories of women and women's organizations to achieve different kinds of objectives. It may be helpful to future programming to be clearer about this, and about the relationship between these organizations.

For example, there is a definite advantage to working with women who have high status - may be wealthy and part of the establishment, and may also be very busy. Yet they have what few women have - namely access to those who wield power. Their drawbacks are that they may not challenge the status quo directly, and they may move slowly either because of political caution or because



they have too many other commitments. However, their advantage is that they can go directly to the top of ministries, make contact and apply pressure. It would seem useful to work with groups such as this, but only as long as they produce what they promise, that is, they make use of the access to benefit broader categories of women. If they say they will 'get to' a minister to change a policy or practice, then they should provide a schedule for action and achieve the result. Access is denied so many women's organizations that some support should be given to women's organizations that have connections to people in power, a clear agenda aimed at enhancing the influence and status of women and a strong track record.

There is another category of educated middle-class women who may or may not be part of the establishment -- they may in fact be excluded -- but they are committed to working with and for women of lower classes in and through NGOs of various kinds. There appears to be a good number of impressive women's organizations of this type with which the WIP program can and does cooperate. Their advantage to the program is that they already have the capacity, or are capable of learning quickly, to create networks, provide training, produce educational materials, encourage and help women run for office, prepare advocacy strategies, and run legal advisory clinics. They may also (already or soon) have the ability or the potential to raise money from other donors. Their advantage to WIP is that with some clearly focused technical assistance they can achieve results within a short time. They are also useful when an opportunity opens up and needs to be dealt with quickly. They should be expected to achieve results and to plan strategically to undertake activities that have a multiplier effect.

A third category may include new or inexperienced organizations such as FEDO in Nepal, or women with less education or rural women's groups. The purpose of working with them may be a concern with economic or political equity and/or broadening political/civil society participation, or building institutions among new groups or in new geographical areas, or pilot undertakings or trying to deal directly with a problem such as domestic violence. It should be anticipated that this kind of work will require much more hand-holding, micro-management and institution building, proposal writing and help with accounting and management. Some women's organizations of this kind can become very effective in a short period, such as some of those in Mongolia, and may (notionally) graduate to the level above where more can be expected from them. Others may need continued close support.

In countries in which WIP programs are new, it may be justifiable to experiment without necessarily being able to select and strategize as is being suggested here. In places, however, where the programs (or others like it) have been operating for some years, the program should consciously plan to work with different types of organizations to achieve these different purposes, and to go beyond that to achieve synergies, that is initiatives that connect and reinforce each other. For example, public education, advocacy and executive or legislative training on gender awareness or more specifically on one theme such as discrimination or harassment in the workplace.

#### **6) *TV and Radio***

Mass electronic media is obviously an important means of getting messages and information about

women out quickly and to the broad public. As was pointed out in interviews, the very fact that a show on women in politics is presented on TV or on the radio is an achievement in itself and also gives the issue enhanced public credibility.

Yet, there is often some sense of dissatisfaction afterwards as to the impact. Did people (women and men) actually watch it (or listen to it)? Did they understand it? Did it influence them in any way? This problem probably cannot be solved, but there are ideas of how to increase the audience, the impact, and information about the impact. One is promotion where a small amount of money would go into putting on a series of 30-second advance promotion notices. A well-publicized panel discussion on the films/programs, covered by the press, will help. A series of weekly shows has the obvious advantage that people who see it by chance will know about it, and word gets around. Where it is feasible, a radio 'call-in' program also is a way to elicit feedback regarding audience participation and programming content.

Time slots are important. Organizations need to work for, persuade, and pay for near prime or prime time showings and/or times that may be particularly convenient to women. In some circumstances it may be advantageous to include the material or issues in popular on-going shows, where the audience might be focusing in the first place on the music or the entertainment.

It is also possible to persuade radio and TV stations to air programs more than once, particularly a good quality program, and sometimes an alternative station might air the program at a later date. It is also useful at the end of a production to provide an address from which the material (video or tape) can be obtained for further information and training purposes. It has already been shown to be effective to add a requirement that organizations requesting such material explain how they will make use of it. As discussed above (under Results), it is also thought feasible to ask the organizations to fill in a simple form after six months, for example, reporting on use of the material.

### ***7) From Exposure to Competence***

As WIP programs move into a further stage, the question needs to be asked more carefully whether an activity is intended to expose people to a new concept/idea/method or to build the sort of competence that will enable participants to act effectively. Exposure has been a very useful step and been catalyst in the early days of transition to democracy or of democracy programs. Yet, increasingly, WIP programs will need to move towards competence. *For example, a three or four-day training workshop on Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was enough for an activist to make use of for public education, but it was not nearly enough for lawyers to feel competent to rely upon in court.* In five years' time, one will want a certain number of lawyers not only to know about the Convention, but also to be able to refer to and use it in court. A good example is the plan to draw up a full one-year course curriculum for inclusion in university legal training programs. Similarly, with support for women candidates, advocacy undertakings, civic education programs or women's crisis centers.

### ***8) Building Upon Existing Training Materials***

Training materials have been initiated and developed through regional and country-specific

projects. In several countries, materials exist in English and in local-languages on advocacy, legal rights, awareness training, voter education and more. Curricula have been developed and implemented in several countries on 'running for office'. Mentioned in a few countries, but in particular in Thailand, was that training was needed in moving beyond running for office. In some cases, training is available in how to manage once in office, but one locally elected leader indicated that she saw as the next step 'learning how to compete against the male candidates when standing for reelection'. Two main points were mentioned. One is that women typically are not used to promoting themselves. They may be doing a good job and getting some recognition, but they typically are not comfortable 'putting themselves out-there' so to speak and using their effective work to promote themselves.

The other point, is that the men 'campaign' differently than the women do. In more than one country, the women indicated that men 'buy' votes. The women felt that the villagers, who do not get access to much cash, in some cases, only see the direct benefit to the household which is the immediate cash. The women questioned how they could compete against this type of strategy and not follow the same path.

Once more women start getting elected to office, and especially as they begin to be seen as politically competitive, then new skills will be needed to enhance their role and help them to be re-elected.

### **9) Research Projects**

There are a number of examples of research projects working well, this means that their purpose is relevant to women in politics and clearly defined, that their method is sound, and that their findings are put to immediate use to persuade, educate or advocate. It appears that a well executed and written piece of scientific research adds considerable legitimacy to the case for women's participation, particularly when faced by skeptical audiences. Research can also be used as a rapid background exercise in preparation for a timely newspaper article or radio program. *Good examples come from pre-election research by women's organizations in Mongolia and for a newspaper supplement in a Moslem newspaper in Indonesia. Another example of utilizing research is work by a public interest group, Pro Public, in Nepal, which TAF used as background for its strategic plan developed for its "Women's Empowerment" program.*

It appears, however, that there have been some difficulties with some of the research projects sponsored by the WIP program. There are too few examples to draw definite conclusions as to whether this forms part of a pattern and what the causes might be. However, it is worth noting that research is a special skill requiring both training and experience, and not all organizations or those to whom they delegate responsibility have the necessary skills. There is also a danger of self-serving research attached in advance to a political agenda. Another danger observed elsewhere is that some donors accept sloppy research, and as a result, enterprising local scholars pursued by too many donors may believe that it is possible to get away with whatever they can. They may, for example, give the work to graduate students without proper supervision.

There is no conclusion intended, rather, this should serve as red flag to warn that more care may

need to be given to the track record and agenda of, and demands upon the organization and the individuals who will undertake the investigation. Also, research activities might require more micro-management than has been considered necessary so far.

#### ***10) Institution Building/Sustainability***

For all human rights/political/advocacy/legal advice type NGOs, including and possibly especially women's, financial sustainability is a very difficult objective to achieve, even, realistically, to conceive. Based on observation of women's organizations in Mongolia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Nepal, Bangladesh, and more, it would seem highly unlikely that these organizations can become independent in the sense of being self supporting. If this is the case in Indonesia, and interviewees confirmed that it was, then it is even more difficult in other countries.

While results at this stage should be a far more important priority than sustainability, it is necessary to help organizations to reduce dependence, particularly on one donor organization or one donor country. One useful step, carried out in Mongolia and Cambodia, is to include proposal writing and strategies as a skill in training programs and technical assistance in institutional strengthening. This may only help diversify dependence, but it is a start. Also NGO laws should be investigated to see whether they provided tax breaks to local donors or allow NGOs to engage in income generation. Creative income generating activities should be encouraged, whether this be entrepreneurial in nature or charging for provision of selected services to selected members.

*A good example of an organization using this strategy is Banchte Shekha in Jessore, Bangladesh. They offer for a fee, training rooms, meals and lodging, in addition to a wide-variety of training programs. Revenue is gained from their own training programs or hiring out their facilities to others. Some years ago, the Director was able to obtain a loan from the bank for the property and has been upgrading it ever since.*

Care also needs to be taken not to create dependence on overly expensive technologies. In Indonesia, a few provincial governments have agreed to pay for some women's programs. Organizations carrying out similar kinds of work with women may need to be encouraged to think about merging sometime in the future.

In Cambodia, USAID is trying to wean all human rights organizations on an incremental basis -- 10% by year one, 20% by year 2, etc. This is an exercise that should be observed closely by TAF. Increasing financial autonomy should be encouraged, but on a case by case basis rather than a generalized global or regional requirement. Country contexts, relative strengths of the NGOs and varying program purposes require specific locally sensitive responses from WIP programs.

#### ***11) Cost-Effective Means to Increase Impact***

When it is possible, for example, an organization has proved itself or the program is susceptible to such methods, emphasis needs to be put on dramatically enhancing numbers of beneficiaries. Ideally, TAF's more experienced partners should work this out themselves, but if they do not then they should be encouraged to do so. One observation about this is that it often takes a NGO time to learn from experience that it is not making a big enough impact, and needs to re-think its

method of operations

We saw a number of good examples of this kind of thinking and resultant adaptation of programs *In order to change public attitudes to girls' women, an organization was planning on developing materials into school textbooks and curricula rather than investing in NGOs to try to do this through training. Rather than delivering a series of short labor intensive workshops for lawyers about gender and CEDAW, an organization was preparing a curriculum to take to law schools for incorporation in their law degree programs. Rather than continuing with short courses for civil servants, there was a decision to have the materials included in the degree courses of the Public Administration University responsible for education of all civil servants. Use of radio and TV are further examples.* These initiatives are mostly at an early stage, but their progress should be carefully followed and encouraged

### **12) Government Legal Advice**

An interesting project has been the placement of a legal adviser on gender inside the legal office of the Cambodian National Assembly. As far as we know this is the only project of this kind. While it has been short term and the impacts remain uncertain, it appears an interesting enough initiative for consideration by other WIP programs

If a government would agree -- and certainly not all would -- to placing a legal adviser on gender in a position which allows for strategic input into the formulation of legislation, such placement has considerable policy potential. It may be -- given executive dominance of the legislative process in Cambodia and elsewhere too -- that placing a highly qualified person in a ministry might be more effective. Ideally such an officer should be located as close to the center of political influence as possible, for example, in the office of the president. However, this may not be possible. If a ministry of women's affairs is selected, it would be essential that the scope of work (and government agreement) includes responsibility to work with legal advisers in all other ministries

Not only would such an adviser have the ability to look at all legislation at early and later stages from a gender perspective, but her/his presence would do much to augment the advocacy work of women's rights NGOs, so creating the type of reinforcement referred to above

### **13) New/current/urgent issues for women**

From interviews and discussions with women in several countries, in particular Indonesia and Bangladesh, there was a very clear theme -- or more accurately a cluster of issues connected to a theme -- that emerged and that related very broadly to *violence against women*. This included, possibly most frequently domestic violence, but also violence, harassment, abuse and discrimination in the workplace, criminal violence such as rape, trafficking, prostitution itself and the array of abuses of prostitutes, abuse of women migrant workers, old women, and the very high maternal mortality rate. This array of concerns which interviewees saw as quite clearly connected to violence was the most urgent issue on most of their minds

Rating further behind in discussions with women in Indonesia (in terms of number of times it was

mentioned and the urgency of tone) was what was referred to as the problem of *stereotyping* of women in culture (long established male attitudes) in education (the gender bias in curricula, text books, etc ), where women were portrayed as inferior to men, as the ones solely responsible for home, and as playing only a secondary role in earnings. Some of the women argued that it was this stereotyping that lay at the basis of violence, abuse and discrimination.

In Bangladesh, it was of interest to learn that the 'customer survey' of poor women, carried out in 1995 by USAID, came up with a very similar set of primary concerns focusing on violence against women, especially as they relate to domestic violence and injustice related to marriage, divorce and dowry. In a number of interviews with Mongolian women, the urgency and importance to them of violence against women has been confirmed.

Trafficking, exploitation of poor girls and women, prostitution, youth prostitution, and HIV/AIDS were mentioned by a few people in Cambodia. These same issues were mentioned to a much larger degree in interviews conducted in Bangladesh and Nepal, where they see an on-going problem especially in trafficking and in Northern Thailand, where issues around poor girls and prostitution are seen as linked socio-economic problems. In some countries, HIV/AIDS is considered less of an issue for the time being, but is recognized as a potential future problem unless measures are taken, for example in Nepal, to deal with HIV-positive returned 'trafficked' victims and prostitution.

A few respondents in Cambodia spoke of the economy, the limited opportunities for lesser educated people and poverty as lying at the basis of most of the above problems. Specifically noted as problems for women were the lack of jobs, and lack of education, literacy and vocational skills to compete for jobs when they were available. Rural women were said to be at the most serious disadvantage in terms of lack of skills. One person appealed for donors to work on women and development and women and politics at the same time.

In a further discussion on links between women in politics and legal rights, women, for example, from Bangladesh and Thailand indicated that 'on-the-books', they had equal rights. Reality offers a different situation. One MP from Thailand indicated, however, that a place to start is for women to understand their role in the household, then know what rights they have under the law and then finally learn how to use the political process for change.

Some very broad issues were raised in Cambodia. Corruption, notably related to logging, came up a few times. When asked how this affected women, the answer was that corruption was preventing the government from raising the revenues it needed to spend on essential programs for women and children. Also mentioned was the need for peace and nation-building, lack of investment and tourism as sources of national revenue and job creation.

Other issues raised were too many children and not enough attention to family spacing, so creating an inordinate burden on women. It was pointed out in Cambodia that partly as a result of the war, but also because of men setting up more than one household, that approximately 30 per cent of households were now in effect headed by women.

There is a problem of people who 'don't have full bodies' whom women have to look after, such as, handicapped, wounded, orphans, elderly people, and especially widows. Also loss of land by the poor to the rich was a serious problem for poor rural households and women, and women needed a better understanding of their land rights. In other cases, a better understanding of inheritance rights was also mentioned.

#### ***14) USAID Procedures***

There were certain aspects of USAID procedures which impeded the functioning of the program. Most significant of these was the annual contractual arrangement which required the program effectively to close down each year, and then, when funds became available, to re-open again. This prevents multi-year planning, impedes timely planning for regional events, makes the collection of results more difficult, results in late arrival of funds (which a number of NGOs commented on as a major problem for them) and leads to rushed and therefore less effective implementation. A number of the recommendations that follow depend to no small extent on some higher level of confidence among grantees and subgrantees that they can work on a multi-year basis. The requirement of quarterly rather than six-monthly reporting was also seen as an unnecessarily burdensome demand both on TAF country representatives and on small already understaffed local NGOs.

## **V RECOMMENDATIONS**

While these recommendations draw on both Results and the Lessons Learned, most of them derive directly from the latter. Therefore, in most cases, fuller explanations and justifications can be found in the section on Lessons Learned.

### ***1) Continue with Local Government Focus***

Since women are most likely to first increase their participation at the local level, this opens up a greater opportunity for increasing women's participation, gaining some experience, and having some influence over development at the local level.

### ***2) Enhancing Regional Initiatives***

The connection between regional and national initiatives should be clearly planned. More preparation time may need to be allowed for more effective recruitment and preparation of materials. There should be more careful planning for 'continuity' by way of post-workshop support. This could be in the form of follow-up materials, a visit by a resource person as also requirements of participants to report on progress. If necessary funding of NGOs to carry out post-workshop activities should be considered.

### ***3) APWIP's Role***

Its role and contribution could be made more clear and effective. Most of the comments we received appear to be related to concerns to which APWIP appears to have made an effort to respond. Therefore, it is recommended that APWIP survey its members and readers yet again and make a visible effort to respond to their suggestions.

### ***4) The Internet***

It would appear from what we learned that this initiative is not making as much progress as had been hoped. It also appears that APWIP is aware of the problems such as lack of skill and money and has attempted to respond. The recommendation is simply that these efforts be continued with and resources be set aside to do so. This is too important a mode of communication to do anything else but persevere.

### ***5) Focusing On Results***

Creative, practical and inexpensive systems for collecting results are feasible. The process needs to be demystified and made manageable. Practical methods for doing so are discussed under Lessons Learned. It may be that both TAF country offices and TAF partners need technical assistance in this regard. It is believed that this will be a sound investment not only for purposes of assessing progress, but also in enhancing impact. USAID missions should be encouraged to work with TAF offices in this exercise and clarify what it is they are expecting.

A follow-up workshop (say a year after an activity) could be very effective in increasing substantially data to be used as results. TAF might think about a formula of adding 10% to projects in order to achieve these enhanced outcomes and better information on results.



#### ***6) Attribution in Cases of Multi-funded Projects***

Much can be missed if TAF does not have a way of monitoring and assessing these kinds of results. A language has to be developed which indicates in general terms the nature and extent of TAF's contribution such as -- sole, major or minor, joint, original or subsequent, core or specific activity funder -- and a system put in place for following projects after handoff.

#### ***7) Women in the Bureaucracy***

More attention should be focused on women in the bureaucracy, as appropriate, in improving their status, skills, strategic thinking and gender awareness and also providing gender awareness to the civil service. This is not a suggestion that TAF takes major initiatives in this regard, but rather that it includes the bureaucracy in its analysis of opportunities and constraints, and that it entertains proposals to work with the bureaucracy.

#### ***8) Thinking Strategically About Different Types of Women's Organizations***

In countries in which WIP programs are new, it may be justifiable to experiment without necessarily being able to select and strategize. But, in places where the program (or others like it) have been operating for some years, it should develop plans to work with different types of women's organizations (elite, middle class, working class, poor urban or rural) to achieve different but supportive purposes. For example, public education, advocacy and executive or legislative training on gender awareness generally, or more specifically to do so with a focus on one theme identified locally to be of strategic importance to women such as discrimination in the workplace or property rights.

#### ***9) Enhancing the Impact of TV and Radio Shows***

It is important to emphasize to partners that the production of a program, while an achievement of significance, does not in itself fulfill the purpose of the program. There are numerous ideas of how to increase the audience, the impact and information about the impact. These can include advance promotions, well-publicized panel discussions on the films/programs, using 'call-in' programs, selecting key time slots, and including the material or issues in popular on-going shows which spread the message more quickly. Other possibilities are to persuade radio and TV stations to air programs more than once or at the end of a production to provide an address from which the material (video or tape) can be obtained for further information and training purposes.

#### ***10) From Exposure to Competence***

Exposure has been a very useful step and been catalyst in the early days of transition to democracy or of democracy programs. Yet, increasingly, WIP programs will need to move towards competence, that is, to use its activities to enable people to take informed and effective action whether it be in a court of law or in Parliament.

#### ***11) Research Projects***

More care may need to be given research projects than may have been presumed to be necessary to the track record and agenda of, and demands upon, the organization and the individuals who propose to undertake research, and more on-going attention may have to be given to design, methods and data analysis during the research.

### ***12) Institution Building/Sustainability***

While results at this stage should be a far more important priority than sustainability, it is necessary to begin to help organizations to reduce dependence, particularly on one donor organization or one donor country. One useful step is to include proposal writing and fund raising strategies as a skill in training programs and technical assistance in institutional strengthening. Creative income generating or fee-based activities should be encouraged.

### ***13) Cost-Effective Means to Increase Impact***

When it is possible, for example, an organization has proved itself or the program is susceptible to such methods, emphasis needs to be put on dramatically enhancing numbers of beneficiaries. Ideally, TAF's more experienced partners should work this out themselves, but if they do not, then they should be encouraged to do so.

### ***14) Government Legal Advisor on Gender***

An interesting project has been the placement of a legal adviser on gender inside the legal office of the Cambodian National Assembly. It appears an interesting enough initiative for consideration by other WIP programs. Not only would such an adviser have the ability to look at all legislation at early and later stages from a gender perspective, but her/his presence would do much to augment the advocacy work of women's rights NGOs thereby creating the type of reinforcement referred to in recommendation 8 above.

### ***15) Strengthening the Focus on Violence***

This topic includes, possibly most frequently domestic violence, but also violence, harassment, abuse and discrimination in the workplace, criminal violence such as rape, trafficking, prostitution itself and the array of abuses of prostitutes and of women migrant workers. TAF WIP program and local NGOs have already taken some initiatives in this direction. Such an orientation should be given more attention in WIP programs.

## APPENDIX 1 - SCOPE OF WORK AND ITINERARY

**Program Title** Increasing Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region

**Program Number** USAID Grant Agreement # 493 2750-G-00-3455-00

**Program Period** (3 phases) September 1993 - September 1996

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### 1 Program Background

The legitimacy and long term viability of new transitional democracies in the Asia-Pacific region will ultimately be determined by their progress in building a broad base of popular participation and support among the citizens of the countries concerned. Therefore the efforts and successes of elected governments in bringing the female half of their population into the political arena -- to participate in, contribute to and benefit from democratic institutions and processes -- is fundamental to establishing a legitimate broad based and sustainable base on which to build. In Asian transitions as elsewhere women face both formal and informal barriers to full and equal political participation at the national and local level.

As a direct response to this situation The Asia Foundation (TAF) proposed and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) agreed to support a program to increase women's political participation at the national provincial and local levels and to help build efficient national and regional networks for information sharing. The program also sought to increase women's representation in decision making bodies promote accessibility and influence on the policy making process and foster greater responsiveness to women's concerns.

### 2 Program Profile

#### I) Goal and Objectives

The goal and objectives of the program remained consistent throughout but the following terminology was settled upon in the second year.

**GOAL** To fully integrate women into the political process

**Objective 1** Increasing awareness strengthening advocacy and expanding access to positions and processes

**Objective 2** Promoting equitable laws policies and practices and

**Objective 3** Strengthening capacity throughout the region to effectively implement and enforce policies and decisions

**Regional activities** were used to accelerate projects in each country and help to build networks that strengthen the overall efforts in the region.

#### ii) Period and Phasing

The program period covers three years from September 1993 through September 1996. This three year period needs to be understood as three one year 'phases' at the outset the project was supported and financed for one year only with no undertaking by USAID to continue. At the end of the year the project was closed and a new project renegotiated based on a new proposal with funding remaining uncertain until the commencement of the new year. This process was repeated at the end of the second year although this time a work plan served the purpose of a new proposal. This is relevant to the evaluation insofar as TAF and its implementing partners in the region at no time had a multi-year basis for planning implementing and measuring progress. On the other hand when funding became available it was possible to continue with and build upon projects commenced in an earlier phase. This program needs therefore to be seen as something of a 'hybrid' operationally made up of three separate annual programs but allowing for some continuity of projects.

#### iii) USAID Funding and Management

In phase 1 (1993-4) USAID agreed to a grant of \$523,791. In phase 2 (1994-5) \$999,970 was requested and in phase 3 (1995-6) 1,999,950 was requested. [Since agreements were not seen for years 2 & 3 only figures requested are

shown and not on what USAID agreed ]

While phase 1 was negotiated by the USAID Asia/Near East Bureau responsibility for the project was immediately transferred to and managed by the newly established Global Bureau for Democracy. For the first two phases programmatic decisions were made by the Global Bureau while in phase 3 decisions to buy into the program were made by USAID country missions drawing on other funds designated for democracy.

#### **iv) Project Information**

In Phase 1 projects were implemented in 7 countries in phase 2 in 8 countries and in phase 3 in 5 countries. In addition regional projects were undertaken in all three years.

Approximately 30–35 projects were undertaken in each of the three phases. Expenditure on each ranged from a minimum of \$5000 to a maximum of \$60 000 with most in the range of \$20 000 to \$30 000.

The projects were spread across the three objectives and regional crosscutting initiatives but most were undertaken in pursuit of Objective 1 relating to awareness, advocacy and access.

Projects varied considerably in response to local needs but a few illustrative examples indicate the character of the program and its activities: Advocacy Training from Women in Nepal; Research and Awareness Raising for Women's Roles in Formal and Informal Politics in Sri Lanka; Women in Local Politics in Thailand; The Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Secretariat (based in Bangladesh); Empowering Women through the Media in Sri Lanka; Support (Regional/International Human Rights Conventions) Project; and Promoting Women's Legal Literacy in Mongolia.

### **3 Evaluation Purpose**

In order to provide useful guidance for the direction and management of future programs related to promoting women's political participation:

**the prime purpose of the evaluation will be to elicit and explain the key positive and negative lessons of experience, highlighting 'best' practices**

These lessons will be derived from an investigation which assesses the individual and combined results of the components of the Program and seeks causal links to the relevant operating methods and contexts.

**In order to fulfill this purpose, the evaluation should respond – and the findings should form the main content of the report -- to the following principal themes**

#### **1) Results**

The broad programmatic impact of a three year undertaking divided into three annual segments broken into numerous relatively small projects at various stages of progress in 8 countries and including regional projects is not easily ascertainable. Nor will it be feasible to seek a consistent level of impacts across such a diverse set of projects. Nevertheless the evaluation will focus on results and depending on the scale, scope and stage of the project, will seek to assess:

- a) effectiveness in achieving progress towards the stated objectives or/and
- b) effects on institution/capacity building and potential sustainability of local partner organizations or/and
- c) concrete results or outcomes resulting from project outputs or/and
- d) if there were synergies of any kind resulting for example from the combined impacts of more than one project of regional and country projects or because of value added by other TAF projects or/and
- e) if there were some significant changes in the situation of women in politics to which this project made a positive contribution or/and
- f) who the first tier beneficiaries (ex. implementing organizations) and ultimate beneficiaries (USAID ultimate customers) of these projects were: this requires a disaggregated sense which distinguishes them for example on the basis of rural/urban, class, religion, ethnicity or caste depending on specific circumstances.

## 2) Lessons

Having determined these various levels of impact the evaluation will proceed to provide lessons by seeking to explain the above results. Issues and themes and causal patterns will emerge from the investigation itself but the evaluation should anticipate that the following are of interest to the contracting parties

i) Relevance and Logic Were the constraints on and opportunities for women's political participation which the program was originally designed to address relevant and important and were the activities undertaken in response logical to achieving an effective response?

ii) Efficiency Are the effects of the project being produced at an acceptable cost compared with alternative approaches to accomplishing the same end? This involves an investigation into alternative methods questions should be asked about the value of spending relatively large amounts of money on key individuals in-country as opposed to regional or international conferences workshops visits taking advantage of multiplier effects such as training of trainers use of mass media etc

iii) Criteria for Selection of Intermediate Customer/Implementing Organization (IOs) How were IOs selected and on the basis of what criteria? How have they managed programs in terms of personnel and financial management effectiveness and participation?

iv) IO perceptions of TAF in terms such as relevance of advice understanding of the organizations and women's needs responsiveness to those needs flexibility openness to new ideas about women's participation and alternative approaches handling of problems and differences?

v) Linking Results to Distinguishing Project Features Can relative effectiveness in achieving results be distinguished on the basis of project objective type of project country context method, regional/national/combined scope?

vi) What might participants have done differently? (if they were to undertake the project again) often a useful alternative way of raising issues and learning lessons

Given the number and diversity of the projects it has been decided that the most effective way to learn about the program is to focus in the first place on individual projects in order to assess results and provide lessons at the programmatic level

## 4 Methodology

The methodology will relate directly to the main purpose which is to learn key lessons of use to future programs based on findings about results and project methods. Given this clear purpose and limited resources and time the evaluation will be **selectively focused** on explaining such useful lessons rather than providing comprehensive assessments or balanced coverage of the countries in which projects have been located

### Consulting basic and reporting documents

The basic documents include the grant agreement the proposal and work plan in 1993 the proposal and work plan in 1994 and the work plan for 1995 these work plans lay out anticipated impacts and criteria or/and methods for collecting results of such activities available in Washington DC

Quarterly Reports which will provide a full list of projects and records of implementation and were the main means of communication from TAF to USAID in Washington DC available in Washington DC

In country a selection of project management files (the basis of selection to be determined but it could be based on issues raised by the Quarterly Reports or interviews in country with USAID TAF or partner organization personnel) which will add the insights and responses of partner organizations and of USAID available in TAF country offices

### Interviews

Interviews with headquarters personnel TAF Washington USAID Global USAID ANE USAID WID all in Washington DC

Interviews with USAID field mission personnel who focus on democracy and WID

Interviews with TAF personnel in the field

Interviews with a selection of implementing and beneficiary organizations grantees and ultimate beneficiaries

Interviews with a few key non grantees such as media people academics officers of non-recipient NGO s or social movements or politicians who can analyze the political/economic and gender context and add fresh insights and alternative views

### **Selection of Countries**

Four countries are to be visited each for a period of one week These are Bangladesh Cambodia, Indonesia and Nepal Criteria considered in selecting individual countries were the program should have continued for at least two years scale of the country program the variety of projects and types of organizations involved or objectives emphasized and potential value of positive and negative lessons that might be learned Mongolia was excluded because one member of the evaluation team worked there recently and has some familiarity with the program

In non-visited countries the evaluation will rely partly on Quarterly Reports In addition local consultants will be sought to pursue a list of questions prepared by the evaluation team These reports while important are to be regarded as helpful additional material rather than as a requirement In other words their failure to materialize will not delay the drafting of the report

## **5 Format of the Evaluation**

The final report should be about 35 to 45 pages in length (excluding appendices) and should contain the following sections

### **1) Executive Summary**

Highlighting key results and most useful lessons

### **2) Methods**

Explaining methods and basis of selection of countries and programs and where necessary adaptations of the methods and issues outlined above

### **3) Findings**

This should follow the two-part outline dealing first with Results and then Lessons of Experience and where appropriate referring to the suggested sub-topics as discussed above under Evaluation Purpose This section will form the bulk of the Report

### **Appendices**

i) Copy of Evaluation Scope of Work

ii) A list of documents consulted

iii) A list of individuals (and their institutional affiliations) contacted

iv) Any additional information or tables thought to be useful to readers

## **6 Time Frame and Reporting Requirements**

### **Time Frame**

The evaluation process will commence in December 1996 with work in Washington DC

While the commencement date need not be fixed probably no more than 10 days total should be used in Washington before departure

Departure for Asia will take place in late December or very early January

Field visits will be for about two (6 day) weeks for each team member Each member will visit two countries and return to Washington by approximately January 22 or 23

As laid out below the process of drafting awaiting TAF and USAID responses and redrafting should be complete by February 28 1997

### **Reporting Requirements**

The evaluation team will provide a preliminary verbal report to TAF Washington explaining its intended mode of operation in the field

Prior to leaving each country visited it will brief the TAF representative and if possible the USAID officer responsible on the findings in that country

On return to Washington it will give a verbal report to TAF and USAID Ten days after the return it will provide a first draft of the report 10 days later it will expect to receive TAF and USAID responses Ten days later it will provide the final report The process will therefore be complete by the end of February 1997

## **7 TAF Support for the Evaluation**

TAF Washington should make travel and other arrangements for the team and make available space and all relevant files for use by the team before it leaves and if necessary after it returns TAF Washington should facilitate meetings in Washington with relevant USAID officers and possibly other consultants who may have worked on the project

TAF Washington will make contact with all the country missions to be visited and request them to make accommodation and transportation available and where necessary interpreters and to set up meetings as requested in country

TAF country offices will select and advise independent local consultants in non-visited countries to carry out one week investigations based on a set of issues for investigation prepared by the Evaluation Team They will submit these reports to Washington DC by January 16 1997

TAF country offices should also make available project management files including correspondence with USAID and partner organizations and other beneficiaries They should also assist with setting up telephone calls if and when it is decided to be an appropriate method of investigation They should hold a brief meeting with the team at the commencement and end of the visit and in general facilitate the evaluation process

## **8 Evaluation Team Composition**

Susan Reynolds and David Hirschmann will carry out the evaluation They will work jointly on designing and planning the evaluation in regard to both methodology and areas of concentration Susan Reynolds will take responsibility for researching visiting and writing the initial drafts on Bangladesh and Indonesia and write up the sections based on research in DC and reports by local consultants on Sri Lanka the Pacific Islands and Thailand David Hirschmann will take responsibility for researching visiting and writing the initial reports on Cambodia and Nepal and writing the sections based on research in DC and on local consultants reports on Mongolia and the Philippines Both will take responsibility for keeping an eye on any lessons which may emerge from other countries that may have sent participants to regional conferences namely Japan, Korea Vietnam Pakistan, Laos and India Susan Reynolds will lead the team After the return from the field she will take major responsibility for compiling the first joint draft including attending to editorial consistency and final responsibility for preparing and negotiating the final draft

### **Itinerary for David Hirschmann and Susan Reynolds**

David Hirschmann conducted field visits from January 3 - 19, 1997 to Indonesia and Cambodia

Susan Reynolds conducted field visits from January 6 - 26, 1997

|            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| Bangladesh | January 6 - 13  |
| Thailand   | January 14 - 18 |
| Nepal      | January 19 - 25 |

Both attended an Asia Foundation meeting in Bangkok on Saturday January 18 1997 to present preliminary findings

## APPENDIX 2 - DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

### *Washington*

#### **Reports**

##### **Phase I**

TAF/W - Proposal submitted for Phase I August 31 1993 September 30 1994

TAF/W - Work plan dated December 20 1993

TAF/W - Interim Evaluation and Report of Phase I

TAF/Nepal - Evaluation of the WIP Program Phase I of the Asia Foundation Nepal Office dated October 24 1994

TAF/Philippines Women in Politics Program Progress Report March 1 to May 31 1994

##### **Phase II**

TAF/W - Proposal (not dated)

TAF/W - Work plan dated November 1994

TAF/W - Quarterly Report Number I (10/1/94 12/31/94) dated January 31 1995

TAF/W Quarterly Report Number II (12/31/94 3/31/95) dated April 30 1995

TAF/W Quarterly Report Number III (3/31/95-6/30/95) dated July 31 1995

TAF/W - Quarterly Report Number IV (6/30/95 9/30/95) and 1995 Year End Report dated January 31 1996

##### **Phase III**

TAF/W - Work plan dated June 1995

TAF/W Quarterly Report Number I (10/1 12/31/95) dated January 31 1996

TAF/W - Quarterly Report Number V (1/1-3/31/96) dated April 30 1996

TAF/W Quarterly Report Number VI (4/1-6/30/96) dated July 31 1996

TAF/Thailand 4th Quarterly Report dated December 1995

TAF/Sri Lanka - Quarterly Report - Fourth Quarter 12/96

TAF/Cambodia Quarterly Report - Fourth Quarter 12/96

TAF/Bangladesh - Notes on Fourth Quarter Quarterly Report 12/96

TAF/W - Draft 1996 Annual Report

#### **Miscellaneous**

TAF/Philippines Phases 1 and 2 February 1994 to August 1995 Final Evaluation Report on Women in Politics Program prepared by Ma Katherine De Jesus-Clarín January 5 1997

Pacific Islands Response to WIP Evaluation Questionnaire dated February 10 1997

APWIP Core Group Board Meeting 'Decisions Actions Deadlines February 1996

APWIP Network and Gender and Development Research Institute Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda Strategies and Action for Asia and the Pacific

Center for Legislative Development/ORD Philippines Seminar Workshop on Development of Local Legislative Proposals August 1995

Center for Legislative Development/ORD Philippines Post Election Analysis Strengthening Women's Participation in Politics July 1995

DAWN Philippines Women in Politics Program Terminal Report

Lynn P Freedman Women and the Law in Asia and the Near East Genesys Special Studies No 1 Washington DC 1991

ORD Philippines Minutes and Proceedings of Local Legislative Advocacy for Women in Quezon Gender Sensitivity Seminar for Women Legislators 1995

Anugraha Palan Women in the Media in Cambodia Cambodia Communication Institute Phnom Penh, 1995

Socorro L Reyes Women in Politics Program (Philippines) Progress Report for March 1 - May 31 1994

Socorro L Reyes Women in Politics Program (Philippines) Progress Report for Oct 1 - Dec 31 1994

Socorro L Reyes Women in Politics Program Final Report for October 1 1994 Sept 30 1995

Tive Savareth The Portrayal of Women in the Khmer Press Women's Media Center of Cambodia 1996

Women for Social Progress (Mongolia) Voter Education Seminar Materials

#### **General References**

'Dealing with hidden issues trafficked women in Nepal' by Meena Poudel and Anita Shrestha in Development in Practice Vol 6 No 4 1996



"Community information services in rural Bangladesh," by Md Harun-ur-Rashid in Development in Practice Vol 6 No 4 1996  
Asia Pacific Women in Politics Resource Network Information Packet and Newsletters

### ***Thailand***

Women of Thailand. A Special Issue of the Newsletter of the National Commission on Women's Affairs September 1995

Putting Women's Rights in the Constitution: An Experience of Thailand, by Suteera Thomson and Maytinee Bhongsvej published by Gender and Development Research Institute GDRI (1996)

Women Reshaping the Society: A Challenge for the Remaining Decade by Suteera Thomson and Maytinee Bhongsvej GDRI (1995)

Women in Decision-Making Positions: Politics and Administration, by Suteera Thomson, GDRI (1995)

Putting Women's Concerns on the Political Agenda by Suteera Thomson and Bhongsvej GDRI (1995)

6 YEARS - Annual Report for Gender and Development Research Institute

Jan - Dec 1996 Activity Summary Report - Center for Education for the Advancement of Lanna Women Faculty of Education Chiang Mai University

USAID/WIP Program 4th Quarterly Report TAF Thailand December 1995

The Asia Foundation/Thailand The Women in Politics Program, Status Report June 27 1995

### ***Nepal***

Paternal Property: Equal Rights to Daughter and Son published by Institute for Legal Research and Resources (ILRR) November 1996

"Forum for Protection of Public Interest" Brochure from Pro-Public

Women in Politics Newsletter Volume I Issue I Kathmandu August 1996

DidiBahini Long-Term Strategic Plan

"Red Light Traffic: The Trade In Nepali Girls" Produced by ABC/Nepal A Nepali Women's NGO Working Against Girl Trafficking and AIDS Second Edition 1994

Environmental Scan Survey: Women in Politics Prepared by Carolyn Bucey Eberle et al September 1996

A Report on Cross Border Dialogue on Trafficking of Women and Girls and HIV/AIDS as a Follow-up to the Regional Dialogue on Trafficking and HIV/AIDS November 29-30 1996 (organized by Child Welfare Society/Nepal)

Empowerment of Women in South Asia: Concepts and Practices by Srilatha Batliwala Second Draft June 1993

Sponsored by Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education and FAOs Freedom from Hunger Campaign - Action for Development

Gender and Economic Participation: A Review of the Literature Final Report for USAID by Kay Calavan et al Coopers & Lybrand January 1995

Seminar - Workshop on Strategic Planning for Legislative Advocacy

### ***Bangladesh***

Report from Banchte Shekha Angela Gomes on Rural Women Voter Education Project 4/3/96 9/30/96

Reports on Kathmandu Workshop one from Firdous Azim of Naripokkho dated 3/24/96 and one from Angela Gomes dated 7/19/96

Report from Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha by Rokeya Kabir Executive Director on Voters Education On Women Issues dated November 28 1996

Final Report on Women in Politics Regional Planning Meeting dated 10/1/95 - 3/31/96 from the Centre for Analysis and Choice (CAC)

Materials from Bangladesh Mahila Parishad 2 posters 2 Newsletters/Publications (in local language) Teenagers are Forced for Flesh Trade Edited by Babu Maudud about teens recovered from forced servitude and Women's rights Law Reform and Uniform Family Code June 1993

Year-end Report for 1996 with notes from Kim McQuay and Nawshad Ahmed

International Voluntary Services Inc Report from Abdul Matin Country Director dated December 29 1996

Report from Farah Ghuznavi Executive Coordinator Saptagram Nari Swanirvar Parishad dated June 12 1995

Report on Publication of Newsletters by Women for Women dated December 23 1996 submitted by Najma Siddiqi

Democracy Partnership Proposal Review Sheet for NGO selection and participation  
 Bangladesh Democracy Partnership Program, September 1995 Programs Budgets for 1996 and 1997 and Democracy  
 Partnership Baseline Survey of Qualitative Indicators/Summary Report  
 APWIP Newsletters 3 issues for '94, 3 for '95 and 2 issues for '96  
 Centre for Analysis and Choice Newsletters 4 issues  
 Women's Representation in Parliament, Summary of Proceedings of Workshop on Organized by Centre for Analysis and  
 Choice June 4 1995  
 Executive Summary of CAC's participation in WIP program  
 Curriculum for Leadership and Campaign Management Skills Development Training for Women, by Yasmeen  
 Murshed, Director From CAC  
 Substantive Report for the Research Project on Women in Politics at Local Level in Bangladesh, executed by  
 Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) Comilla by Md Abdul Quddus and S J Anwar Zahid  
 Year end report from TAF/Bangladesh on the 1996 WIP program projects  
 CAC report on the Nepal Workshop which was attended by Farah Kabir and Yasmeet Nurshed dated June 25 1995  
 Reports on CEDAW Regional Meeting on Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific A Call to action held in Jakarta  
 Indonesia from July 3-6 1996 from Salma Khan, Sigma Huda Sumaiya Khair  
 Report on TOT Workshop on Increasing Women's Political Awareness & Consciousness dated December 23 1996  
 submitted by Rakhi Das Purkayastha  
 Final Report from CAC on Women in Politics program 10/1/95 9/30/96 submitted by Syed Fahim Munaim  
 Report by Mrs Yasmeen Murshed Director CAC and Chair APWIP on Participation at the AWID Forum APWIP  
 Advocacy Curriculum Meeting September 1996 Washington DC  
 CAC Report on APWIP Philippines Workshop prepared by Farida Akhtar  
 Report on National Workshop on Women Migration and Trafficking Advocacy Strategies October 1996 sponsored by  
 Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (not a WIP funded activity) and Report on Regional Dialogue on Trafficking  
 and HIV/AIDS  
 International Migration of Women A Study on Causes and Consequences by the Association for Community  
 Development (ACD) "Uprooted girls of Bangladesh Linkages to HIV " and Report on A Workshop on Trafficking in  
 Women and HIV/AIDS dated October 20 1996 Workshop Proceedings by the Association for Community  
 Development (this is a WIP funded activity)

## **APPENDIX 3 - INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED**

### **Washington**

Ms Carol Yost The Asia Foundation  
Ms Kim Hunter The Asia Foundation  
Ms Melissa Brown USAID Global D/G Bureau  
Mr Jerry Hyman USAID Global D/G Bureau  
Ms (Dr) Cate Johnson USAID WID Office  
Ms Margaret Lycette USAID WID Office  
Ms Gretchen Bloom Gender/WID Advisor USAID/ANE Bureau

### **Mongolia (Interviews conducted in Washington)**

M Altangerel Women's Law Association  
Ts Altantsetseg Women's Law Association  
B Dolgor Women's Law Association  
S Bud Women's Law Association  
A Jargalan, Women's Law Association  
P Tsetsegee Women's Law Association

### **Bangkok, Thailand**

Ms Suteera Thomson (Dr) Advisor of Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI)  
Mr (Dr) Gothom Arya Director of the Institute of Technology for Rural Development (ITRD)  
Ms (Dr) Teeranat Karnjanakorn Director of Women and Administration project of ITRD  
Ms (Dr) Pussadee Tamthai Director of the Institute of Women in Politics  
Ms Napasri Maneewong Director Social and Human Resource Development Institute Foundation  
Ms Ruengrawee (Jieb) Ketphol Program Manager The Asia Foundation  
Mr James R Klein Representative The Asia Foundation  
Ms Sakon Nakhon Member of Parliament  
Ms Maleerat Kaewka Wannamit Co Ltd former Member of Parliament from Sakonnakorn  
Ms Sunee Chaiyaroze Institute of Technology Development  
Ms Ladawan Wongsriwong Member of Parliament Pavao Province  
Ms Mukda Pongsombat Member of Parliament from Khonkaen Province

### **Chiang Mai, Thailand**

Ms (Dr) Siwarak Siwarom Center of Education/Advancement of Lanna Women Faculty of Education  
Ms (Dr) Bupa Wattanapun Center of Education/Advancement of Lanna Women Faculty of Education, Chiang Mai University  
Ms Krongkaew Asvachun Senator from Lamphun  
Ms Jiraporn Yusart Elected Tambon Leader Lamphun plus one additional Tambon Elected Leader from Lamphun  
Ms Sinuan Pengkhamta Community Leader Chiang Mai

### **Nepal**

Mr Julio (Andy) Andrews Representative The Asia Foundation  
Mr Taufique Rahmah Assistant Representative The Asia Foundation  
Ms Gita Sangroula (and several other staff) Institute for Legal Research and Resources (ILRR)  
Ms Saloni Singh Didi Bahini  
Ms Sunita Sharma Coordinator Women Wing Pro Public (Forum for Protection of Public Interest)  
Mr Praksh Mani Sharma General Secretary/Public Interest Law Pro Public  
Mr Narayan Belbase President/Environmental Lawyer Pro Public  
Ms (Dr) Tara Upreti Independent Consultant  
Mr (Dr) Vijaya Lal Gurubacharya Chairman (Counseling Training Screening Service for HIV/AIDS)  
Ms Prativa Subedi President Women Awareness Centre Nepal (WACN)  
Ms Uma Adhikari President Rural Women Development Centre & Former Member of Parliament

Ms Rajshree Shrestha Programme Officer/Legal AID & Consultancy Center (LACC) & Regional Co-ordinator  
Women and Law South Asia Network (WALSAN)  
Ms Durga Sob President Feminist Dalit Organisation (FEDO) (and 4 other staff members)  
Ms Susan Maskey ASMITA  
Ms Anju Chettri ASMITA  
Ms Jane Nandy Women's Empowerment Team Leader USAID

### **Dhaka, Bangladesh**

Mr Nick Langton Representative The Asia Foundation  
Ms Salima Sarwar Association for Community Development  
Ms Raushan Jehan Parvin Advocate Ain O Shalish Kendra  
Ms Zakia Yasmin Joarder Project Director Department of Women's Affairs Government of Bangladesh  
Dr Hasina Begum, Team Specialist, Population Program The Asia Foundation  
Mr Kim McQuay Assistant Representative The Asia Foundation  
Ms Sigma Huda Advocate Bangladesh Supreme Court  
Ms Salma Khan Bangladesh National Women's Association  
Ms Rakhi Das Bangladesh Mahila Parishad (Women's Council)  
Dr Nawshad Ahmed Sr Program Officer The Asia Foundation  
Ms Shireen Huq WID Advisor DANIDA  
Ms Raka Rashid Program Specialist Office of Economics and Enterprise USAID  
Ms Bithi Pandit, Responsive Government Team, USAID  
Mr Gary Robbins Team Leader USAID  
Mr S J Anwar Zahid Joint Director Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD)  
Mr Sved Fahim Munaim, Director Centre for Analysis & Choice  
Ms Farah Kabir Centre for Analysis & Choice  
Dr Nazmunnessa Mahtab Professor Dept of Public Administration, and approximately 6 other members of Women  
for Women  
Dr Monowar Hosaine Managing Director Multidisciplinary Action Research Centre

### **Jessore, Bangladesh**

Ms Angela Gomes Director of Banchte Shekha  
Ms Linda Gomes Training Director Banchte Shekha  
Plus 6 other staff of Banchte Shekha and one visit to a nearby village to Jessore to meet women who participated in the  
Voter Education Training in April 1996

### **Cambodia**

Hor Bun Leng National AIDs Office Ministry of Health  
Yim Chandary Women's Media Center  
Sonia Dumont Women's Media Center  
Mr Edward H Greeley USAID  
Sopha Kong Member of Parliament (Funcinpec)  
Som Khemra Women's Media Center  
Lum Ang Ky Member of Parliament (Funcinpec)  
Ms Catie Lott USAID  
Samneang Moul TAF  
Sam An Men Member of Parliament (CPP)  
Ms Sue Nelson USAID  
Saphon Nin Member of Parliament (CPP)  
Chanta Prak Member of Parliament (Funcinpec)  
Nanda Pok Women for Prosperity  
Srey Phirny Network of Women in Politics Kandala  
Nuth Rasy Women's Media Center  
Kanutha Sam Member of Parliament (Funcinpec)  
Ya Soeun Chief of Commune Kzala Commune Kampong Siem district

Ouk Sothera Women's Media Center  
Kim Sour Sam Member of Parliament (CPP)  
Mr Jon Summers The Asia Foundation  
Chea Sundaneth Women's Media Center  
Nop Vana Khmer Women's Association and Community Development Takeo  
Hai Vannak Candidate for Communal Election Tonle Bet Commune Tbong Khmorn District  
Yung Vin Khemara Women's NGO

### **Indonesia**

Nurul Agustina Tekad/Republika Newspaper Project  
Svamsiah Ahmad Convention Watch  
S Subeno Arif Tekad/Republika Newspaper Project  
Asnufriyanti Damanik Indonesian Women's Association for Justice  
Eep Saefullah Fatah Coordinator Tekad/Republika Newspaper Project  
Tini Hadad Convention Watch  
Mimi Harvono Yayasan Melati  
Umu Hilmi Research Center for Women's Studies Brawijaya University  
Marwah Daud Ibrahim Member of Parliament  
Dr Tapi Omas Ihromi Professor Convention Watch  
Sri Indah, Asia Foundation  
Ibu Indrati Research Center for Women's Studies Brawijaya University  
Gartini Isa USAID  
Farid Jaban Tekad/Republika Newspaper Project  
Nursyahbani Katjasngkana Convention Watch  
Amani Lubis Islamic State Institute  
Achie Luhulima Convention Watch  
Dr Mafsiyah Mboi Member of Parliament  
Ratna Batara Munti Indonesian Women's Association for Justice  
Dewi A Padmo Open University Media Center  
Ira Puspadewi Indonesian Consumers' Foundation  
Bapak Rachmat Safa'at Research Center for Women's Studies Brawijaya University  
Dr Sapparinah Sadli Professor Convention Watch  
Ms Karen Smith Independent Trainer and Adviser on Women in Indonesia  
Ibu Susrini Research Center for Women's Studies Brawijaya University  
Ani Sutjipto Convention Watch  
Ms Jill Tucker The Asia Foundation  
Hesti Wijaya Brawijaya University

## APPENDIX 4

(The Review Guidelines and Questionnaire were distributed to the Asia-Pacific (Fiji) Sri Lanka Philippines and Mongolia for data collection absent country visits by David Hirschmann or Susan Reynolds)

### Review Guidelines for the Asia Foundation

- 1 Provide project background information for each of the projects reviewed
  - a Number and name of project
  - b Time period for the project
  - c Results from the project both immediate and expected future results
  - d In your opinion what are the key lessons of experience from the project
  - e If you were to be involved in this project again, what would you do differently?
- 2 Were some of your projects regional (more than one country) or did some of your project participants participate in regional activities?
  - a If so in what ways did your project participants benefit from the regional activity? Please provide some specific examples
  - b If given the opportunity in the future to support regional activities would you do so? Why or why not?
  - c If you could have structured the regional activities differently to better enhance your country's projects or benefit the participants what would you have done?
- 3 Are there any other programs in-country similar to WIP (outside of the Asia Foundation)?
  - a If so can you give some specific examples?
  - b To what extent do the activities of the other programs complement the WIP projects or vice versa?
  - c Do or could the WIP projects stand alone without the other programs in country?
- 4 As a grouping of projects how have the projects worked together in furthering women's political participation? Please give specific examples
  - a What would you regard as the most significant result of these projects?
  - b What would you repeat? Why?
  - c What would you change or do differently in the future? Why or why not?

*Thank you for responding to the above questions and for your contribution to the program review*

## QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

For organizations

- 1 What activities is the organization engaged in that promote Women in Politics?
- 2 What is there size mission and who they work with or what they promote?

For each of the following please provide specific examples

- a To what extent did the organization benefit from the project in increasing women s participation in politics?
- b What effects did the project have on the organization s institutional building capacity building for staff or program development or sustainability?
- c To what extent did the project facilitate better links with other projects or organizations that are also promoting women s participation in politics?
- d Did staff from the organization attend regional activities? If so in what ways did they benefit? To what extent would they want to participate in future regional activities? Why? Why not?
- e If you had a chance to participate in this same type of project again, would you? Why? Why not? If you could change the project what changes would you make?
- f From the project you participated in how has your organization gone on to use that information etc For example in a training of trainers conference workshop for your staff or your own program participants?

For individuals \*

- 1 What is her class caste or ethnicity?
- 2 Are they rural or urban?
- 3 Their religion?
- 4 Education?
- 5 Profession?
- 6 What is her age and marital status?

For each of the following please provide specific examples

- a To what extent are you currently involved in legal rights' issues at the local national or regional levels?
- b To what extent did you benefit from the AF project in increasing your participation in the political process such as running for office or working in an organization which promotes women in politics etc
- c How relevant was the AF project to your needs? Were the objectives of the project met for you?
- d To what extent did the AF project increase you linking with other organizations or projects promoting women in politics?
- e To what extent did you participate in AF regional projects? If you did in what ways did you benefit from that participation? To what extent would you want to participate in future regional activities? Why? Why not?
- f If you had a chance to participate in the same type of project again, would you? Why? Why not? If participating again what might you want to see done differently?
- g From the project you participated in, how have you gone on to use that information, etc For example to run for office or conduct training activities speak at a conference organize women?

\* If the information is gathered for questions 1 - 6 it should be included in the report at the end to describe the sample of people interviewed The information should not be identified in any way with a particular interviewee This point should also be made clear to the interviewee at the time of the interview

General question to ask of organizations or individuals if relevant (specific examples should be obtained)  
To what extent did the project affect Policy and Advocacy issues (i.e. laws changed conferences held etc) as a result of the project?